

Amalia E. Gnanadesikan
Dhivehi

Mouton-CASL Grammar Series

Editors

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Thomas J. Conners

Amalia E. Gnanadesikan

Volume 3

Amalia E. Gnanadesikan

Dhivehi

The Language of the Maldives

Edited by
Anne Boyle David

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

This material is based upon work supported, in whole or in part, with funding from the United States Government. Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the University of Maryland, College Park and/or any agency or entity of the United States Government.

ISBN 978-1-61451-304-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-61451-234-9

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0076-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb>.

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Cover photo: A thun'du kunaa, a traditional Maldivian mat. Photo by Gitanjali Gnanadesikan

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

☼ Printing on acid free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Foreword

It is remarkable that, in this age of unprecedented global communication and interaction, the majority of the world's languages are as yet not adequately described. Without basic grammars and dictionaries, these languages and their communities of speakers are in a real sense inaccessible to the rest of the world. This state of affairs is antithetical to today's interconnected global mindset.

This series, undertaken as a critical part of the mission of the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL), is directed at remedying this problem. One goal of CASL's research is to provide detailed, coherent descriptions of languages that are little studied or for which descriptions are not available in English. Even where grammars for these languages do exist, in many instances they are decades out of date or limited in scope or detail.

While the criticality of linguistic descriptions is indisputable, the painstaking work of producing grammars for neglected and under-resourced languages is often insufficiently appreciated by scholars and graduate students more enamored of the latest theoretical advances and debates. Yet, without the foundation of accurate descriptions of real languages, theoretical work would have no meaning. Moreover, without professionally produced linguistic descriptions, technologically sophisticated tools such as those for automated translation and speech-to-text conversion are impossible. Such research requires time-consuming labor, meticulous description, and rigorous analysis.

It is hoped that this series will contribute, however modestly, to the ultimate goal of making every language of the world available to scholars, students, and language lovers of all kinds. I would like to take this opportunity to salute the linguists at CASL and around the world who subscribe to this vision as their life's work. It is truly a noble endeavor.

Richard D. Brecht
Founding Executive Director
University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language

Series Editors' Preface

This series arose out of research conducted on several under-described languages at the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language. In commencing our work, we were surprised at how many of the world's major languages lack accessible descriptive resources such as reference grammars and bilingual dictionaries. Among the ongoing projects at the Center is the development of such resources for various under-described languages. This series of grammars presents some of the linguistic description we have undertaken to fill such gaps.

The languages covered by the series represent a broad range of language families and typological phenomena. They are spoken in areas of international significance, some in regions associated with political, social, or environmental instability. Providing resources for these languages is therefore of particular importance.

However, these circumstances often make it difficult to conduct intensive, in-country fieldwork. In cases where such fieldwork was impractical, the authors of that grammar have relied on close working relationships with native speakers, and, where possible, corpora of naturalistic speech and text. The conditions for data-gathering—and hence our approach to it—vary with the particular situation.

We found the descriptive state of each language in the series to be different from that of the others: in some cases, much work had been done, but had never been collected into a single overview; in other cases, virtually no materials in English existed. Similarly, the availability of source material in the target language varies widely: in some cases, literacy and media are very sparse, while for other communities plentiful written texts exist. The authors have worked with the available resources to provide descriptions as comprehensive as these materials, the native speaker consultants, and their own corpora allow.

One of our goals is for these grammars to reach a broad audience. For that reason the authors have worked to make the volumes accessible by providing extensive exemplification and theoretically neutral descriptions oriented to language learners as well as to linguists. All grammars in the series, furthermore, include the native orthography, accompanied where relevant by Romanization. While they are not intended as pedagogical grammars, we realize that in many cases they will supply that role as well.

Each of the grammars is presented as a springboard to further research, which for every language continues to be warranted. We hope that our empirical work will provide a base for theoretical, comparative, computational, and pedagogical developments in the future. We look forward to the publication of many such works.

Claudia M. Brugman
Thomas J. Connors
Anne Boyle David
Amalia E. Gnanadesikan

Preface

When I first came to the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL), I told my new colleagues that I wanted to concentrate on a South Asian language. I had dabbled in various South Asian languages before, but I wanted to do better than that—I wanted to really learn one this time. David Cox suggested I work on Dhivehi and made it possible for me to do so—thank you! The result has been a fascinating ride. I cannot say that I have mastered the Dhivehi language, but I have learned a new and unique script, cudgelled my brain into processing a new set of syntactic structures, studied the Maldivian newspapers, and eaten *rihaakuru* (fish paste) and *garudhiya* (fish soup). I have even made some progress on identifying the many stages of coconut development and come to see a tulip as a kind of a tree (ދޯ ގަސް *gas*). Along the way I have had the privilege of getting to know some Maldivians and of benefiting from their kindness. I am especially grateful to Dr. Maryam Mariya, who has served as a consultant, answering countless questions as well as facilitating my meetings with other Dhivehi speakers both in New Zealand and in Malé. My thanks also to Dean Abdul Rasheed (Absy) Ali, who provided me with working space at the Faculty of Arts at Maldives National University. The other Dhivehi speakers who generously shared their language with me must remain anonymous due to IRB (Institutional Review Board) ethics rules on the use of human subjects, but I always remember them and the friendship they extended to me with gratitude.

This grammar has also benefited from the input of many people at the University of Maryland. Anne David has served as the editor for this volume, catching typos, bad prose, poor formatting, and fuzzy thinking alike. Mike Maxwell and Tom Conners have also made editorial contributions. Aric Bills, Mike Maxwell, Sean Simpson, Stephanie Kramer, and Nate Clair have rendered technical assistance. Special thanks to Aric Bills for making the map and the other figures. Earlier versions of this work benefited from the proofreading skills of Rebecca McGowan, the formatting skills of Melissa Fox, and the indexing skills of Evelyn Browne, all of which were sadly missed in later versions. My thanks to all of them.

At de Gruyter-Mouton my thanks are due to Lara Wysong and her team for shepherding the book through the publication process. Thanks also to Jonathon Lum and an anonymous reviewer whose careful comments helped to improve the final text. None of the aforementioned people bear any responsibility for the errors that must surely remain in this work. A definitive grammar of Dhivehi remains to be written, but I hope that the current book represents a step in that direction.

Amalia E. Gnanadesikan

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1 About this Grammar

1.1 Scope of this book

This grammar covers the northern dialect group of Dhivehi, with emphasis on the standard dialect of the capital, Malé, which is home to roughly 40% of the Maldivian population. The standard written and the standard spoken dialects of Dhivehi are not terribly different, and both are covered here, including some discussion of informal spoken forms, prescriptive norms, and literary usages. Poetic usage is not covered, however. The southern dialect group diverges significantly from the northern dialects, as discussed in Section 2.2. The southern dialects also diverge significantly from each other. These have not received much attention in the linguistic literature, with the exception of Wijesundera et al. (1988), Fritz (2002) and Fritz (2005).

1.2 Sources

The present grammar benefits greatly from previous works on Dhivehi, discussed further in Section 2.4, with a particularly large debt to Cain and Gair (2000) and Reynolds (2003), without which this work would not have been possible. In addition, Dhivehi-language sources such as grammatical handbooks (Ahmad 1970, Jameel 1970, and Shaadiqu 2012 [1993]), and the national (monolingual) dictionary (*Dhivehi Basfoiy* [Dhivehi Dictionary] 2011) have also been consulted at various points.

A major source for this work, unavailable to previous authors, is an extensive corpus of roughly 3.3 million words made possible by the posting in recent years of Dhivehi materials on the World Wide Web. The largest source of text for the corpus is the now-defunct online newspaper *Haama Daily*, with smaller contributions from *Minivan News*, *Miadhu News*, and *Haveeru Online*. In order to include a wider range of genres as well as examples of simpler sentence structures, the corpus has been supplemented with small extracts from other texts, including children's fiction.¹ A smaller spoken corpus was also collected during fieldwork conducted among Maldivian expatriates in New Zealand in 2012. A further fieldwork trip to Malé in 2014 provided additional data, as did the judgments of a native speaker consultant, Dr. Maryam Mariya.

The vast majority of the examples used in this grammar are “naturally occurring,” in that they were written or spoken for reasons other than the speaker being asked an explicit question about Dhivehi. As such they can be expected to convey a better sense of the language as it is actually used than artificially constructed sentences would. However, as a result of their being originally intended for another purpose, the

¹ The presence in later chapters of several example sentences about rabbits and/or a character named Pilaasee, for example, derives from a Dhivehi retelling of *Peter Rabbit*, published in Dhivehi as *Pilaasee's Disobedience*.

examples are often either longer or vaguer than might be ideal to make the grammatical point that they are here used to illustrate. Any example included in this grammar which is taken from a written source should be understood to include the entire sentence of the original source if it ends in a period in the Dhivehi line. It will be translated as a sentence in English, with initial capitalization and a final period. If it does not include the sentence-final particle ޞަ- **-eve** it is usually because it was a quote in the written source. Spoken examples attempt to follow the same rule of using the full sentence, but in unscripted speech the beginning and end of sentences can be a matter of judgment. Examples that are not punctuated as complete sentences, by contrast, are extracts from corpus sentences. Each example is tagged with a two- or three-character code that represents its source. The list of sources corresponding to the codes is given in Section 1.4. In examples from the spoken corpus, names have been changed to avoid using the real name of any of the speakers.

Dhivehi, like other languages with an established written tradition, has a set of prescriptive rules for “properly” using the language. Some Maldivians that I spoke with in Malé expressed concerns about my heavy reliance on a corpus, wondering how I would be able to identify errors on the part of the writers. It is certainly the case that Maldivian writers, like writers of English, do not always follow the prescriptive norms established for their language. It is also the case that errors may occur due to slips of typing or proofreading or due to the writer’s lack of full fluency in the standard dialect. In drawing on the corpus I have attempted to distinguish between the two types of “errors,” with the help of native speakers and my own increasing familiarity with the language. While a descriptive approach to a language does not suppress the “improper” usages, it is also more descriptively accurate to report on both a usage and the attitudes toward it than on a usage alone. Therefore I have made reference at times to prescriptive judgments, as well as to literary registers that are not part of the everyday colloquial language.

1.3 Interpreting examples

This grammar uses both in-line examples and longer, interlinear examples. In-line examples (Figure 1.1) are used within running text to refer briefly to a word or short phrase. They are also used in tables, where they may be displayed vertically. Interlinear examples (Figure 1.2) are used to set out longer examples in detail. All examples are given in the Dhivehi Thaana script followed by a Romanized representation of the Thaana (both Thaana and the Romanization scheme followed here are laid out in Chapter 3). In-line examples follow the Romanization with a gloss or translation, unless this is obvious from the context.

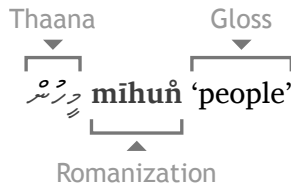


Figure 1.1: In-line example

Interlinear examples include both a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and a more natural “free” translation into English. A gloss is a representation in English of the non-English expression. In some cases it may be the same as a translation, but in others it may be more abstract, such as when a word meaning ‘you’ is glossed as 2 (for ‘second person’). Glosses also attempt to represent the same Dhivehi word with the same English word in most cases, in order to give a sense for the range of meanings that the Dhivehi word has. A gloss of a morpheme may be thought of as a way to *identify* a particular Dhivehi morpheme, rather than to *translate* it. The free translation, by contrast, is a rendering of the meaning of the Dhivehi expression into grammatical English, though in some cases it still sounds somewhat stilted, as faithfulness to the original may be valued above English style. See Section 1.5 for the meaning of the various abbreviations and punctuation marks (hyphens, periods, and underlines) that are used in the Romanization and gloss lines. At the end of the free translation line a two- or three-character code in parentheses identifies the source of the Dhivehi example. These codes are laid out in Section 1.4.

Thaana ▶	މާދަމާ	އަލީ	ގޭ_ތެރެ	ސާފު	ކުރާނެ
Romanization ▶	mādamā	alī	gē_tere	sāfu	kurāne
Gloss ▶	tomorrow	Ali	house_inside	clean	do.FUT.3
Free translation ▶	‘Tomorrow Ali will clean the house.’ (FW2)				

Figure 1.2: Interlinear example

1.4 Corpus source codes

The following is a list of sources for the examples given in this grammar, with the short code used in the examples shown at the left, the title or a description of the source in the middle, and the genre of text at the right.

C1	Example provided by a native speaker consultant, Dr. Maryam Mariya.	Native speaker text
D3	ދިވެހި 3 ވަނަ ދަރިވަރުގެ ދަތުރު <i>divehi grēḍ 3 darivarungefoḥ</i> ‘Grade 3 Dhivehi Textbook’, Ali Ibrahim Maniku Saiboani (2010). Malé: Novelty Press, Maldives Centre for Educational Progress.	Children’s textbook
DA	ދިވެހި ލަވަ ލިޔުން <i>divehiṅge akuru</i> ‘Scripts of the Maldivians’, Abbas Ibrahim (1998). Malé: National Centre for Maldivian Language and History.	Nonfiction
DT	ދިވެހި ދީނީ ތަޢުލީމު <i>dīnī_tarubīyyatu darivarunge foḥ</i> ‘Religious Education Textbook’, Ibrahim Ramiz (1981). Malé: Ministry of Education.	Children’s textbook
DW	Dhivehi Wikipedia (www.dv.wikipedia.org).	Nonfiction
EA	އެމްބަރީ ދަންނަނީ <i>em̄buri annāne</i> ‘They will Come Back’, Aminathu Nihan (2004). Malé: National Centre for Maldivian Languages and History.	Children’s fiction
FD	ފަސޭހަ ދިވެހި ފާޝާ ފޮތް 1 <i>fasēha divehi faṣā foḥ 1</i> ‘Easy Dhivehi: Beginning book 1’, Ali Ahmad (n.d.). Publisher and address not given.	Children’s textbook
FW1	Example elicited during fieldwork in Palmerston North, New Zealand, 2012.	Native speaker speech
FW2	Example elicited during fieldwork in Malé, Maldives, 2014.	Native speaker speech
HD	<i>Haama Daily</i> (formerly at www.haamadaily.com)	News
HV	<i>Haveeru Online</i> (www.haveeru.com.mv)	News
KN	ކެޓްޓަރިކަމުގެ ފަނޑުވަޒަން <i>ketterikamuge foni natijā</i> ‘The Sweet Results of Patience’, Aminathu Faiza (n.d.). Publisher and address not given.	Fiction
MI	<i>Miadhu Daily</i> (www.miadhu.com.mv)	News
MN	<i>Minivan News</i> (www.minivannews.com)	News
PB	ޕިލާސީގެ ބަސް <i>pilāsige bas_nēhum</i> ‘Pilaasee’s Disobedience’, Abdul Lateef Ahmad (n.d.). Publisher and address not given.	Children’s fiction

- In **interlinear examples**, a hyphen separates a word's morphemes if they are separated in both the Romanized Dhivehi line and the English gloss line. If what is usually an affix is spelled as an individual word (with a space), a hyphen will be used in addition to a space in the Romanization and gloss lines, in order to show to indicate where the affix would normally be attached. In **in-text examples**, a hyphen separates the elements of a compound or sometimes other individual morphemes of a word. Morphemes that do not occur as independent words but are discussed in the text will be represented in in-text examples with a hyphen before or after them, depending on whether they are suffixes or prefixes. However, because a morpheme boundary may fall in the middle of a long vowel, and because certain allomorphy may be considered to be either a property of the stem or a property of the affix, the placement of the hyphen is sometimes approximate.
- = An equal sign separates clitics from the rest of the word in interlinear examples. In in-line discussion of these morpheme, however, a simple hyphen is used to indicate whether they are prefixing or suffixing clitics (as in the previous entry).
- _ In interlinear examples, an underline separates items that may be considered separate words despite not being written as separate words in the example.
- ~ In **interlinear examples**, the tilde separates morphemes in cases of *reduplication*. In **tables**, the tilde separates alternative versions of a word.
- * Unattested form. The asterisk is used either to show that a particular form is ungrammatical (and thus not used by speakers) or that it has been hypothesized to have existed in the past, without actual textual proof.
- 1 First person
- 2 Second person
- 3 Third person. Dhivehi third-person proforms do not have gender, but they are translated as 'he' or 'she' in the translation lines of interlinear examples in this grammar according to the identity of the person in the original source of the sentence.
- ABL Ablative/instrumental case
- ADJZ Adjectivizer
- ADV Adverbializer
- C Consonant
- CAUS Causative verb

COP	Copula
CNCS	Concessive
CNV	Converb
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Co-ordinating particle
DAT	Dative case
DEF	Definite
DEFR	Deferential
DEM	Demonstrative
DEM1	First-person demonstrative (near the speaker)
DEM2	Second-person demonstrative (near the addressee)
DEM3	Third-person demonstrative (not near the speaker or addressee)
DHON	Divine honorific
DIMP	Divine imperative
DM	Discourse marker
DOPT	Divine optative
EMPH	Emphatic particle
END	Sentence-final particle
FOC	Focus verb
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
GND	Gerund
HHON	High Honorific

HON	Honorific
HRT	Hortative
IMP	Imperative
INDF	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
IRR	Irrealis
lit.	literally
LOC	Locative
LOG	Logophoric pronoun
NEG	Negative particle
NEGC	Negative concord
NMLZ	Nominalizer
PL	Plural
PRS	Present tense
PRF	Perfect aspect
PROG	Progressive aspect
PST	Past tense
PTCP	Participle
Q	Question particle
QCOMP	Complementizer of an embedded question
QUOT	Quotative particle
REDUP	Reduplicated morpheme
RSN	Reason particle
SML	Simultaneous particle

SOC	Sociative case
SUCC	Successive particle
TAG	Tag question
UNSP	Unspecified
V	Vowel
VN	Verbal noun
VOC	Vocative

1.6 A preview of this grammar

The following chapters present an in-depth picture of Dhivehi grammar as well as its unique writing system, Thaana. Included are the Dhivehi lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as numerous comments on usage. The written language closely resembles the standard spoken language, with a few exceptions, such as the written sentence-final particle ޞަލާ -**eve**. Although this work relies heavily on a written corpus for data, it also notes differences between the written language and the standard spoken language where relevant and includes examples from a spoken corpus as well.

Chapter 2 situates the Dhivehi language in its context with regard to its speakers and their homeland, its dialects, and the state of its linguistic description.

Chapter 3 presents the phonology of Dhivehi, in which dental and retroflex stops contrast, as do plain and prenasalized voiced stops, but there is no distinctive aspiration. Vowels show distinctive length. The phonology includes a strict coda condition and morphologically triggered gemination. This chapter also introduces the Dhivehi writing system, which is then used (along with Romanization) in all the examples presented in this grammar.

Chapter 4 gives a brief overview of the structure of the Dhivehi lexicon, which is Indo-Aryan at its base, with a significant Arabic/Persian/Urdu overlay and increasing numbers of English loanwords. A system of honorifics applies to nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles. Except in a few instances such as question particles and the deferential first-person pronouns, most of this honorific system elevates the person that is being talked about rather than the addressee.

As described in Chapter 5, Dhivehi nouns are divided into human and nonhuman classes, but there is no sex-based grammatical gender. Nouns inflect for definiteness, number, and case.

Chapter 6 presents pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, and quantifiers. Dhivehi demonstratives (deictics) have three values: one for near the speaker, one for near the addressee, and one for elsewhere. These demonstratives may be used as pronouns, as noun modifiers (adnominals), or as verb modifiers (adverbs). The Dhivehi second-person singular pronoun is taboo in the standard language, and various strategies exist to avoid using it.

Chapter 7 turns to postpositions and adverbs, two minor parts of speech in Dhivehi. Being strictly head-final, Dhivehi uses postpositions instead of prepositions, most of which are derived from nouns. Adverbs are usually derived from adjectives or nouns.

Chapter 8 presents verbs. Dhivehi finite verbs inflect for two persons and three tenses but not number. Medial verb forms include past, present, and future participles, while nonfinite verb forms include the infinitive, the verbal noun, and the conjunctive verb (converb). Dhivehi verbs cluster into derivational families, consisting of intransitive/involitive/inactive, transitive/active, and causative members, with plain and honorific versions of each.

Chapter 9 turns to particles, the small, uninflecting words and clitics of the language. Notable among these are the Dhivehi nonverbal copula, which equates two noun phrases, and quotative particles, which mark quotes or repetitions. Certain interjections and question particles are important to the addressee-oriented part of the Dhivehi honorific system.

The later chapters concentrate on syntax. Chapter 10 considers noun phrases. Being consistently head final in its syntax, Dhivehi puts nouns at the end of noun phrases, with relative clause constructions being expressed by participial clauses that precede the noun. The language is also unusual in its ordering of adjectives and quantifiers.

As described in Chapter 11, Dhivehi, like other South Asian languages, does not allow the creation or borrowing of new verbs, and thus relies on noun- (or adjective-) verb compounds, formed with existing verbs, to expand its verb inventory. Chapter 11 also considers the use of auxiliaries, modals, and infinitive constructions.

Chapter 12 turns to the syntax of full sentences. In addition to sentences with verbs, Dhivehi allows two types of nonverbal sentences, those headed by predicate adjectives, and those employing the nonverbal copula. By default, the language follows SOV word order, although the spoken language allows reordering of the major elements in a sentence for a variety of rhetorical purposes. In the written language word order is more fixed, but focus verbs can be used to modify the order, with the focused element of the sentence placed after the verb. Negative sentences use a system of negative concord.

Chapter 13 considers multiclausal sentences. Dhivehi follows the common South Asian restriction of using at most one finite (fully inflected) verb per sentence, so dependent clauses use a variety of other verb forms. Clause chaining, using the nonfinite converb form to append further clauses to the finite clause, is a particularly South Asian feature.

2 The Dhivehi Language

2.1 Introduction

Dhivehi [d̪i'vehi] is the language of the island nation of the Maldives. In English the language is also known as Maldivian; its native name is also transliterated as *Divehi*.¹ Its ISO 639–3 code is *div*. The language belongs to the Indo-Aryan (or Indic) branch of the Indo-European family; its closest relative is Sinhala (Sinhalese), spoken in Sri Lanka, with which it forms what Sonja Fritz has dubbed the Insular group of Indo-Aryan languages (Fritz 2002: 1). As Bruce Cain and James Gair point out, Dhivehi is the only Indo-European language whose indigenous area includes territory south of the equator (Cain and Gair 2000: 1).²

The number of Dhivehi speakers is somewhere between 335,000 and 410,000, with between 320,000³ and 394,000⁴ in the Maldives; about 10,000 on the island of Minicoy in India, where it is known as Mahl;⁵ and a few expatriate populations, particularly in Trivandrum, India.⁶ A large proportion of Maldivians live in the capital city, Malé, which has a population of 132,000.⁷

The Dhivehi language, or **ދިވެހިބަސް** *divehi-bas*,⁸ is a product of the history and geography of the Maldives. Like Sinhala, it has many inherited Indo-Aryan features, but also contains various features that are more like the geographically closer Dravidian languages than like the other, more geographically distant, Indo-Aryan lan-

1 Here and elsewhere I follow conventional Maldivian transliteration of proper names but the more linguistically consistent CASL transliteration (outlined in Chapter 3) for linguistic data. The spelling *Dhivehi* accords with both the official Maldivian transliteration system and the conventional Maldivian transliteration of the name. The conventional Maldivian transliteration of proper names sometimes deviates from the official transliteration system established for the language (also presented in Chapter 3). Long /a:/, for example, is most often written as *a* rather than the official *aa* in names, and the name of the capital city, phonemically /ma:le/, is traditionally written *Malé*.

2 This requires, however, that one consider “indigenous area” to refer only to where languages were spoken in precolonial times. Thus by this definition a language such as Afrikaans, derived from Dutch, is not considered indigenous to South Africa despite having developed and gained recognition as an independent language there.

3 UN Data (<http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=MALDIVES>, accessed 1/8/2014).

4 *The World Factbook*

(<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mv.html>, accessed 1/8/2014).

5 *Census of India 2011* (http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/data_files/lakshadweep/data%20sheet.pdf, accessed 1/8/2014).

6 *Ethnologue: Maldivian* (<http://www.ethnologue.com/language/div>, accessed 12/15/2014).

7 UN Data (<http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=MALDIVES>, accessed 1/8/2014).

8 In the Romanization here and elsewhere in in-line examples, the hyphen separates the two elements of a compound word.

guages. Dhivehi's Dravidian-like features include a lack of sex-based grammatical gender, an absence of phonemic aspiration, and a lack of relative-pronoun headed relative clauses. However, the language has other features that are unusual among South Asian languages generally, including the use of a non-verbal copula and the nature of its honorific system.

2.2 Geographical setting, dialects, and literacy

The Maldives, or **ދިވެހިރާއްޖެ** **divehi-rājje**, consists of numerous small islands formed from the topmost levels of low-lying atolls—roughly circular coral structures which are thought to have grown on top of extinct submerged volcanoes, and which are higher along the perimeter (creating islands, sandbanks, and reefs) and lower in the middle (creating lagoons). The Maldives atolls form a double chain atop the Chagos-Laccadive Ridge that runs north-south roughly along the 73rd east meridian, southwest of India (Figure 2.1). The modern nation consists of 26 atolls, which together comprise about 1190 islands (Ragupathy 2008: 112); the exact number changes from time to time with the shifting sands. Most of these islands are tiny, and none is bigger than 10 km² (3.8 mi²), giving the nation as a whole only 298 km² (115 mi²) of dry land (Pernetta and Sestini 1989: 32). Some 200 of the islands are classified as inhabited, though this number also changes from time to time due to factors such as government policy, water shortages, or natural disasters like the 2004 tsunami. Resort islands are classified as uninhabited, as they have no permanent registered residents. Historically, the nation also included the island of Minicoy (also known as Maliku), which has in recent centuries belonged to India and is grouped with India's Lakshadweep (formerly Laccadive) Islands in the Lakshadweep Union Territory.

The highest natural point in the Maldives is 2.4 m (7 feet 10 inches) above sea level,⁹ and most of the islands have an elevation of only about 1 m (Pernetta and Sestini 1989: 32). The nation therefore faces serious threats from sea level rise due to global warming.

As an island nation, the Maldives has historically had an economy that is heavily dependent on fishing. More recently, the Maldivian tourism industry, which was inaugurated in 1972 (Phadnis and Luithui 1985: 62), has become a dominant industry. The country became the third nation ever to graduate from the UN's Least Developed Nation status on January 1, 2011.

⁹ *Encyclopedia of the Nations*

(<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/geography/Indonesia-to-Mongolia/Maldives.html>, accessed 1/8/2014).



Figure 2.1: Map of the Maldives

The unusual geographical layout of the Maldives has had an impact on its language, culture, and polity. The 298 km² of dry land is spread across nearly 110,000 km² (41,800 mi²) of the Indian Ocean, as the country is 823 km (510 miles) long from north to south, and 133 km (82 miles) wide from west to east.¹⁰ One result of this natural fragmentation is that the word for a settled area (such as a town or village) is the same as that for island, *raṣ* (cognate with Sanskrit *rāṣṭra*, country). In the unusual case

¹⁰ *Encyclopedia of the Nations*

(<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/geography/Indonesia-to-Mongolia/Maldives.html>, accessed 1/8/2014).

that two villages occupy the same island, confusion may result. For example, the “islands” of Hulhudhoo and Meedhoo in Addu (or Seenu) Atoll are actually on the same geographical island, though they have traditionally appeared separately in lists of islands. The word for ‘capital city’ is **verī-raṣ**, or ‘chief island’. The capital of the Maldives, Malé, was for a long time the only island given the status of a city, the word for which is a loanword in Dhivehi: **siṭi**. In some contexts ‘the islands’ means ‘islands other than Malé’. Recently Addu (Seenu) Atoll was upgraded to a city.

While the inhabited land is fragmented, the smallest fragments, namely the islands, are grouped into larger structures, the atolls. Thus the word **atoḷu**, from which the English word *atoll* derives, has come to refer both to the natural grouping of islands into circular structures and to the grouping of islands into larger administrative units. The two are not always perfectly aligned: there are 26 “natural” atolls in the Maldives, but 19 “administrative” atolls (plus the cities of Malé and Addu, for a total of 21 administrative districts). The atolls all have names, but the administrative atolls are also known by a system of code letters. Each administrative atoll is assigned a letter of the alphabet, or in the case of historical splits of administrative atolls, a letter of the alphabet plus a letter denoting ‘north’ or ‘south’. The code names proceed from north, with **Hā-Alifu** (short for **Hā-Uturu** ‘North Haa’), to south, ending with **Sīnu** ‘Seenu’.

The northern atolls—Haa to Laamu—are more closely clustered. The wide One and a Half Degree Channel divides Laamu from the next atoll to the south, Gaafu. The southern three natural atolls, Huvadhu, Fuvahmulah, and Addu (comprising three administrative atolls and a city: North Gaafu, South Gaafu, Gnaviyani, and Seenu, or Addu City), are widely spaced, both from each other and from the northern atolls. As a result of this grouping, Dhivehi has two major dialect groups: a northern and a southern group. The standard dialect—the variety on which the written language is based—is that of the capital, Malé, and belongs to the northern group. It is the focus of this work. Further north, the dialect of Minicoy, known as Mahl, is somewhat different from Maldivian Dhivehi, due to geopolitical distance, but it can still be classified with the northern group (Cain and Gair 2000: 5). The southern group is spoken in the three southern atolls; the differences between individual dialects within the dialect group are greater there (Fritz 2002: 13). Speakers of the northern dialects do not understand the southern dialects at all well. Reports vary from “cannot understand” (Cain and Gair 2000: 5) to “can hardly understand” (Fritz 2002: 13) to an estimate of fifty percent intelligibility I received from one speaker. However, speakers of the southern dialects learn to understand (and speak and write) the more pervasive and prestigious northern speech.

Unlike many neighboring South Asian languages, such as Sinhala or Tamil, Dhivehi does not display substantial diglossia between written and spoken forms, but of course this only holds true for those who speak the northern dialects. Some features specific to the written language do exist, however, the most obvious being a ubiquitous sentence-final particle, **-eve**, which acts as a kind of spelled-out period.

The Maldives enjoys a literacy rate of 98.4%.¹¹ A high literacy rate is not new: a 1986 UNESCO study stated that “A prominent characteristic of Maldivian people is that most of them are literate” (*Literacy Situation in Asia and the Pacific; country studies: Maldives* 1986: 10). Despite this, the country has historically been characterized by a low level of educational achievement (*Literacy Situation in Asia and the Pacific; country studies: Maldives* 1986: 4). Both the geographical fragmentation of the country and its small population are relevant factors here. However, substantial strides have been made in recent decades. The first state-sponsored Maldivian university was formed from the Maldives College of Higher Education in 2011. Many Maldivians go to Sri Lanka, Australia, or New Zealand for higher education, which is nowadays made more widely possible by universal English-medium education in most school subjects.

2.3 History and people

The Dhivehi people are South Asian in appearance, and recent genetic research has confirmed that Maldivians are indeed largely South Asian in origin, with some admixture of West Asian genes through the male line (Pijpe et al. 2013: 64). A few Maldivians claim some African ancestry, and possible traces of African genes have been found in Fuvahmulah, or Gnaviyani Atoll (Pijpe et al. 2013: 65). The West Asian genes presumably come from Arabic and Persian traders and missionaries. Arabic traders are known to have plied the waters of the Indian Ocean since at least the ninth century AD (Flecker 2001: 350). The conversion of the nation to Islam from Buddhism is traditionally credited to a Muslim saint from the Maghreb (or, in some variants of the story, from Tabriz, in Persia) and placed at Hijra 548, or 1153 AD (Maloney 1980: 100–101). This date begins the formal history of the Maldives, prior to which little is known about the country.

With the conversion of the Maldives to Islam, the king of the small nation was granted the title of Sultan (Maloney 1980: 104). Today the nation is 100% Sunni Muslim by law, and Maldivians consider their Muslim faith a vital factor in their national unity. Traditionally the form of Islam practised was a moderate and locally defined one: occasional queens ruled as sultanas, traditional magic was commonly practised, and the veiling of women was relatively rare (Maloney 1980: 365). Family structures were matrilocal, in other words, the residence of a family was determined by the wife rather than the husband (Romero-Frías 2003: 246 fn., Pijpe et al. 2013: 65). Since the 1980's, however, there has been a deliberate move toward Saudi-inspired interpretations of Islam (Romero-Frías 2003: 290–295). Islam has been the conduit for substantial borrowing of Arabic words over the centuries, in many cases via Persian and/or

¹¹ *World Factbook*

(https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/print_2103.html, accessed 1/8/2014).

Urdu. However, Arabic words and Arabic-influenced spellings are being increasingly used in recent years.

The Maldives is presently constituted as a republic, with the official name of Republic of Maldives, or ދިވެހިރާއްޖޭގެ ޖުމްހޫރިއްޔާ **divehi-rājjēge jumbūriyyā** ‘Republic of the Dhivehi Country’. Historically, however, it was a sultanate, known to the rest of the world for its coconuts,¹² coir (coconut fibre), ambergris (a valuable perfume ingredient, produced by the intestines of sperm whales), cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta*, once used as currency in parts of Africa and in Bengal), fish, and tortoiseshell (actually from sea turtles) (Pyrard 1887–1890: 229–241).

Unlike most of South Asia, the Maldives was only lightly touched by European colonialism, with the result that contact between the Maldives and Western nations has been slight until recent times. A brief stint of interference from the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, with 15 years of occupation between 1558 and 1573, gave the Maldivians a permanent appreciation of their freedom and a longstanding distrust of foreigners.¹³ In 1645, during the Dutch rule of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), the Maldivian sultan established an annual exchange of letters and gifts with the Dutch governor at Colombo, bringing the Maldives into the Dutch sphere of protection and thereby warning off any other interested colonial powers. When the English took Ceylon in 1796 the English governor replaced the Dutch governor in this arrangement (Bell 2004 [1883]: 26, 35). A protectorate relationship with Britain was only formalized in 1887 and ended in 1965. The sultanate lasted until 1968 except for a brief hiatus in 1953 (Phadnis and Luithui 1985: 19, 34, 26).

As of 2015 only six presidents have held office: Mohamed Amin Didi¹⁴ during the interregnum in 1953 and the others since 1968. Presidents Ibrahim Nasir (1968–1978) and Maumoon Abdul Gayoom (1978–2008) were selected by the People’s Assembly, or ރާއްޖޭގެ މަޖިލިސް **rayyitunge majilis**, and ratified by the people, but with no competitive vote and no political parties (Phadnis and Luithui 1985: 37–38, 45). The first democratically elected president, Mohamed Nasheed, was elected in 2008 and deposed on

¹² A particular kind of coconut, the coco de mer, *Lodoicea maldivica*, which Maldivians fished out of their waters, was once believed to grow on a tree at the bottom of the seas surrounding the Maldives. It was eventually realized that these unusual, double lobed coconuts actually grew in the Seychelles and then drifted to the Maldives on the ocean currents (Pyrard 1887–1890: 210–231).

¹³ H. C. P. Bell (Bell 2004 [1883]: 37) quotes W. Christopher, a British naval officer who spent time in the Maldives in 1835: “They have a tradition that they shall one day be subjugated to Europeans, the population shall diminish, and their Islands shall gradually sink down into the deep” (quoted from the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, 1836–8 [reprint 1844], pp 103–105).

¹⁴ In the north of the country, where Amin Didi was from, the title ދިދި **ḍiḍi** indicates that the bearer is descended from a sultan, though not a child or grandchild. In the south ދިދި **ḍiḍi** occurs among the population as a surname, and tradition holds that its possessors are the descendants of princes and princesses banished from the capital.

February 7, 2012. Nasheed was succeeded by his former vice-president, Dr. Mohammed Waheed Hassan Manik, who is the first Maldivian to have earned a Ph.D. After this brief unelected presidency, Abdulla Yameen Abdul Gayoom, half-brother of Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, was elected in November 2013.

Not much is known of the early history of the Dhivehi language. The oldest surviving written Dhivehi dates from 1194 AD, in the form of a decree inscribed on copper plates. Eight such copper-plate documents, called *lōmāfānu*, survive, written between 1194 and the 14th century (Fritz 2002: 6), leaving the history of the language before that point unrecorded, and only sparsely recorded for many centuries thereafter. As for the origin of Dhivehi, an Indo-Aryan language (what we may call proto-Dhivehi) may first have come to the Maldives from Sri Lanka or may have come from the Indian mainland in a migration of Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala speakers that settled both the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Wilhelm Geiger, one of the first Western scholars to consider Dhivehi and the Maldives, believed (before the discovery of the *lōmāfānu*, and based on incomplete knowledge of the language) that Dhivehi was “merely a dialect, and not even a very ancient dialect, of Sinhalese” and that “the Maldive islands were occupied by Sinhalese people, but hardly at an earlier period than about eight or nine centuries ago” (Geiger 1902: 909).¹⁵

All later scholars of Dhivehi have disagreed with Geiger’s dating. Based on sound changes that have occurred in Dhivehi and Sinhala, they have put the split between Dhivehi and Sinhala at various significantly earlier dates. M. W. S. De Silva proposes that both Sri Lanka and the Maldives were settled from mainland India, followed by further influence on the development of Dhivehi by Sinhala (M. W. Sugathapala De Silva 1970: 138). Most other scholars assume a settlement from Sri Lanka. Clarence Maloney puts the split from Sinhala before the fourth century AD (Maloney 1980: 90). Bruce Cain argues that the two languages began to diverge at least as early as the first century BC (Cain 2000b: 252), while James Gair puts the split sometime after the third or fourth century AD (Gair 2003: 849), and J.B. Disanayake puts the split between the fourth and eight centuries AD (Disanayake 1986: 99). As Sonja Fritz sums up the issue, “it is still too early to decide with certainty whether Dhivehi and Sinhalese developed at about the same time from a common Prakrit ancestor...as proposed by De Silva. We cannot disprove the opposite assumption that Dhivehi...split off from [Sinhalese] in prehistorical time; it is clear, however, that this time must have been much earlier than Geiger supposed” (Fritz 2002: 12). Based on the range of estimates, it is reasonable

¹⁵ Unfortunately, the belief that Dhivehi is merely a dialect of Sinhala is still encountered today, for example in the CIA’s *World Factbook* (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mv.html>, accessed 12/15/2014). Linguistically this is rather like considering Dutch to be a dialect of German, or Spanish to be a dialect of Italian, and is revealing of how little is generally known about Dhivehi.

to suppose that somewhere between about fifteen hundred and two thousand years separate the two languages.

The Maldives was probably already populated when the Indo-Aryan proto-Dhivehi speakers arrived, perhaps by speakers of a Dravidian language such as Old Tamil. Xavier Romero-Frías describes Maldivian oral tradition that tells of the coming of the ruling family from the north, in India (Romero-Frías 2003: 28–31), while Clarence Maloney adds versions that identify the royal origin as Sri Lankan (Maloney 1980: 29–32). Some versions of these legends specifically mention the prior inhabitants of the Maldives. The legends presumably reflect a migration of a group of people who established themselves as culturally dominant, rather than of a single royal couple. Maloney identifies the people of Giraavaru (located in Malé, or Kaafu, Atoll) as aboriginals who claim Tamil descent—which historically includes both the Tamil and the Malayali people of South India. Until recently the people of Giraavaru followed distinctive customs, but these have been disrupted in recent decades (Maloney 1980: 274–278). The people of Giraavaru were relocated to Hulhule Island in the mid-twentieth century because of erosion and well salinity on Giraavaru, and then when Hulhule was developed as the international airport, they were resettled in the city of Malé, where they have been culturally assimilated (Romero-Frías 2003:31 fn). Whatever the history of the Maldivian population, no extant language other than Dhivehi (in its various dialects) is native to the Maldives, nor are there any historical records of any such language.

2.4 Previous work

Little attention has been paid to the Dhivehi language in the wider world, to the extent that Leonid Kulikov has stated that “the Maldivian language has probably received less scholarly attention than any other official (i.e. used as the official language of a country) language in the world” (Kulikov 2004: 249). This situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years, as the following brief summary of previous studies of Dhivehi (mostly in English) indicates.

Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell list various authors who mention or may be interpreted as mentioning the Maldives, going back to Ptolemy (c. AD 150) and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. AD 90). The first outsider to write extensively about the islands was the great Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta (1304–1377), who spent a year and a half in the Maldives in 1343–1344 and married local women; he returned briefly in 1346 (Pyrard 1887–1890). The specifically linguistic study of Dhivehi begins with the Frenchman François Pyrard de Laval, who was shipwrecked and spent five years in the Maldives from 1602 to 1607. His report includes careful cultural observation with relevant Dhivehi terms included in the main text, as well as a separate vocabulary list (Pyrard 1887–1890). In 1834, a survey expedition of the British Indian Navy mapped the Maldives, after which Lieutenants Christopher and Young remained behind until

1835. Christopher compiled a vocabulary list, later published by John Wilson (1841). Pyrard's vocabulary and Christopher's vocabulary are compared in Gray (1878).

The period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century saw the beginning of serious scholarly work on Dhivehi language and culture, at the hands of H. C. P. Bell, Albert Gray, and Wilhelm Geiger. Their work, represented by Bell (2004 [1883]), Gray (1878), the annotations to Pyrard (1887–1890), Geiger (1902), Geiger (1900–1902) and Geiger (1901) (of the last two of which Geiger 1996 [1919] is a translation into English with editorial additions by H. C. P. Bell) was followed by a long hiatus.

In the late 1960s and 1970s interest in Dhivehi began to revive, with the work of M. W. S. De Silva and C. H. B. Reynolds, on topics in the origin and early history of Dhivehi and the Dhivehi writing system. Their works from this period include M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1969), M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1970), Manikku W. S. De Silva (1979), Reynolds (1974), and Reynolds (1978).

In the following decades a few Maldivians published works to aid English speakers in learning Dhivehi, in some cases in collaboration with foreign co-authors. Their works include phrase books (Maniku and Disanayaka 1990 and Zuhair 1991) and short dictionaries (Abdulla and O'Shea 2005 and Manik 2011). Maldivian culture also received attention in the form of ethnographic works by Clarence Maloney (1980), Xavier Romero-Frías (2003), and Leonid Kulikov 2014, while a group of Sri Lankan and Maldivian scholars assembled a linguistic survey Wijesundera et al. (1988).

The turn of the twenty-first century brought renewed academic attention to the Dhivehi language. Two scholarly dictionaries appeared: Maniku (2000), a relatively short Dhivehi-English etymological dictionary, and Reynolds (2003), the most substantial Dhivehi-English dictionary currently available (though based on fieldwork carried out in 1967). Two grammars also appeared: Cain and Gair (2000) is the only synchronically oriented published grammar prior to the current work, though it is only 70 pages long. Fritz (2002) has a diachronic and comparative orientation, and is presently the only published grammar that covers the southern dialects. It concentrates on Dhivehi morphology. A useful counterpoint to this grammar is the review in Cain (2004). In works of linguistic typology, Dhivehi nowadays occasionally garners some mention. It has a section in the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013), for example, with entries based on Cain and Gair (2000) and Fritz (2002). Aspects of Dhivehi have received attention in works of linguistic theory such as Cain (2000a), Arsenault (2009), and Gnanadesikan (n.d.), on Dhivehi phonology; Cain (1995) and Fritz (2005), on Dhivehi syntax; and Gair and Cain (1996), Gippert (2004), and Gnanadesikan (2012), on the Dhivehi writing system. Cain (2000b) is the doctoral dissertation on which Cain and Gair (2000) is based; it includes a study of the history of Dhivehi not included in the published grammar (Cain and Gair 2000). Additionally, Fritz (1993) is a commentary on the contributions of Wilhelm Geiger to the early study of Dhivehi.

3 Phonology and Writing System

3.1 Dhivehi phonemes

This chapter turns to the phonology of Dhivehi and its representation in writing, beginning with the inventory of phonemes. Occasional comparisons are made to other Indo-Aryan languages, particularly Sinhala, Dhivehi's closest relative. Because the Dhivehi writing system represents the phonemes of the language fairly accurately, and because written examples can be more effectively used once the script has been presented, the descriptions of the phonology and the writing system of the language are interleaved in the following sections.

3.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Dhivehi are given in Table 3.1 in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The transliteration/transcription used in this grammar for Romanizing linguistic examples differs somewhat from the IPA, and will be introduced in Section 3.2.

The symbols in various types of brackets in Table 3.1 are marginal in various respects. The retroflex nasal occurred in Old Dhivehi but no longer contrasts with the alveolar nasal in the standard language. It is still used in the southern dialects, however (Fritz 2002: 35). The palato-alveolar nasal has only marginal contrastive load. That is, it is rarely used to distinguish one word from another. It does, however, contrast with the alveolar nasal in certain derived environments (as the outcome of the gemination and palatalization process described in Section 3.6.4), and it occurs in a few dialectal words and loanwords, most notably *ނަމްނަމު* **ñamñamu** 'namnam (a kind of fruit)', from Malay. It also occurs noncontrastively before the palato-alveolar affricates (*tʃ* and *dʒ*), since nasals assimilate in place of articulation to a following consonant. The palato-alveolar and velar fricatives occur only in loanwords, many of which are from Arabic. Other consonants also occur in explicitly Arabic or English pronunciation of loanwords (see Table 3.6), but the palato-alveolar and velar fricatives are the ones most readily used by Dhivehi speakers.

Dhivehi contrasts voiced, voiceless, and prenasalized stops at the labial, dental, retroflex, and velar places of articulation, while the palato-alveolar place of articulation is added by the voiced and voiceless affricates. The voiceless stops may be lightly aspirated, but aspiration is not contrastive in Dhivehi. In lacking distinctive aspiration Dhivehi is like Sinhala (and the Dravidian languages), but unlike the mainland Indo-Aryan languages (Gair 1998 [1982]: 5). Dhivehi and Sinhala are also unusual in being the only Indo-Aryan languages known to possess prenasalized stops (Cain and Gair 2000: 8). These occur only in word-medial position, which might suggest that they are a sequence of segments rather than a single segment (and in Sinhala they are indeed

	Labial	Dental/ alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal/ palato- alveolar	Velar	Laryngeal
Stops/ affricates	p b	t̪ d̪	ʈ ɖ	tʃ dʒ	k ɡ	
Prenasalized stops	^m b	ⁿ d̪	ⁿ ɖ		^ŋ ɡ	
Nasals	m	n	<ɳ>	(ɲ)		
Fricatives	f	s z	ʂ	{ʃ}	{x}	h
Laterals		l̪	ɭ			
Rhotics and glides	ʋ		ɻ ~ ɽ	j		

Table 3.1: Dhivehi consonants

analyzed as a sequence by Coates and De Silva 1960: 169–170, and Maddieson and Ladefoged 1993: 265–267). However, they contrast with nasal-stop clusters, in which the nasal is demonstrably in the coda of one syllable and the stop is in the onset of the next, making the former syllable heavy. Prenasalized stops, by contrast, do not add weight to the preceding syllable (see Section 3.4.2 on stress), suggesting that they are entirely in syllable-onset position. Since Dhivehi does not otherwise allow onset clusters, I follow previous writers on Dhivehi here (M. W. Sugathapala De Silva 1969: 203, Cain and Gair 2000: 7, and Fritz 2002: 30) and consider the prenasalized stops to be single segments.

Like nearly all other Indo-Aryan languages, Dhivehi contrasts dental and retroflex stops, and the English alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ are borrowed as retroflex stops in loanwords. Dhivehi also contrasts a dental and retroflex lateral. The Dhivehi retroflexes are only slightly retracted (Cain and Gair 2000: 7). Thus they are apical postalveolars, made with the tip of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth just behind where it touches in English /t/ and /d/, but with the body of the tongue held lower than in English to produce the characteristic retroflex quality. The nasal and the fricatives in the dental/alveolar column of Table 3.1 are produced with an alveolar articulation (as they are in English).

The retroflex fricative is the subject of confusion in the small existing literature. Fritz describes it as (for most speakers) simply palatal (presumably meaning palato-alveolar) (Fritz 2002: 29), as the transcription in Maloney (1980) as *ś* would also support. Cain and Gair describe it as a “retroflex grooved fricative” (Cain and Gair 2000: 8)

and transcribe it as /ʃ/ in order to indicate that it is both palatalized and retroflex. However, retroflexion itself (without palatalization) causes a more “hushing” than “hissing” quality in a sibilant, and the flat or lowered tongue body required of a retroflex is incompatible with the bunching of the tongue body required of palatalization (Hamann 2003: 44). I suspect that the slightheadness of the retroflexion, the similarity in acoustic quality between palato-alveolars and retroflexes, and the similarity in the place of articulation (as opposed to the tongue shape) between palato-alveolars and retroflexes¹ has led previous authors to overstate the palatal quality of this phoneme. Historically, the retroflex fricative developed from the retroflex stop /t/, with remaining modern instances of /t/ occurring as geminates (doubled consonants) or loanwords or in the southern dialects. In the nineteenth century this retroflex phoneme was apparently nonsibilant, making it a voiceless rhotic sound (Geiger 1996 [1919] and Bell 2004 [1883]), attested to by Bell’s transliteration as *rh*. Reynolds’ use of *ř* harks back to this pronunciation (Reynolds 2003). Present-day pronunciation of the retroflex fricative is usually (but perhaps not invariably) sibilant, however. Because this phoneme is clearly retroflex in its geminate form of /tt/ (for example, in the gemination process described below in Section 3.6.4), because Dhivehi speakers reliably distinguish it from the loan phoneme /ʃ/,² and because the IPA does not provide a means to distinguish between different types of retroflexes, it is listed here as simply retroflex and not as palato-alveolar.

The /v/ phoneme is typical of South Asian languages. As is also typical, it varies somewhat in its pronunciation in Dhivehi. In many instances it is simply [u]—a labiodental approximant without the tight closure and frication of a [v]—but it may occasionally be as strong as [v]. It also has a [w] allophone that occurs between /u/ and /a(:)/, as in *سوا* /suva:lu/ [suwa:lu] ‘question’.

The Dhivehi rhotic is an unusual retroflex that varies from a close approximant to a flap. In its non-flap articulation it is nearly a retroflex fricative, but doesn’t quite have the narrow closure of a prototypical /z/. The flap pronunciation is not nearly as retroflex as the Hindi /ɭ/, but unlike in an alveolar flap, /ɾ/, the tongue motion is toward the front of the mouth (at least impressionistically), as it also is in the approximant pronunciation.

Further, more in-depth study of the phonetics of Dhivehi is needed, particularly of the retroflex sibilant and the rhotic.

¹ Arguably, retroflex is not a place of articulation but an articulatory gesture (Hamann 2003: 14), and thus retroflexes and palato-alveolars may actually have the same place of articulation. However, retroflex is conventionally considered a place, and co-occurs (as place does) with manners of articulation such as stop, fricative, and lateral, so I have indicated it as such in Table 3.1.



² However, some speakers report that some of the present generation of children, who are being schooled in English, nowadays fail to distinguish their *shaviyani* (ʃ) from their *sheenu* (ʃ). The days of the retroflex fricative may be numbered.

3.1.2 Vowels

The single-quality (monophthong) vowel phonemes of Dhivehi are shown in Table 3.2. As can be seen, the monophthong vowels come in long and short pairs, except for the /æ:/, which has developed from the coalescence of the diphthong /ai/ in Malé but is not used in all parts of the country (see Section 3.1.2.2). The difference between the long and short vowels is usually merely length: the short vowels are not centralized (or lax) in their pronunciations. This is unlike the situation in Hindi, where the short vowels are considerably centralized (Ohala 1999: 102). Thus unlike in Hindi, the short Dhivehi /a/ is not pronounced as [ə] or even as [ʌ],³ but actually as the low vowel [a]. A slight lowering of /e/ to [ɛ], however, does occur in initial syllables for some speakers, and short [u] may be lower than English [u], sometimes sounding to English ears almost like [o], but not like the more centralized [ʊ].

	Front	Back
high	i i:	u u:
mid	e e:	o o:
low	(æ:)	a a:

Table 3.2: Dhivehi vowels

Short /u/ is the default vowel in Dhivehi. As such, it is used epenthetically (i.e., it is added) to fit words to the appropriate syllable types. This epenthesis happens routinely in the adjustment of loanwords to Dhivehi syllable patterns, which are described below in Section 3.4. Thus, for example, Hindi/Urdu *hāl* ‘condition’ is  **hālu** in Dhivehi.⁴ The /u/ is also easily deleted or shortened to almost nothing in unstressed syllables in fast speech. It is also often omitted when speakers choose to use more authentic pronunciations of loanwords which do not originally contain /u/, such as in the letter name  **alifu**, from Arabic *alif*, which may be pronounced simply [alif].

The vowel /i/ is also occasionally epenthetic, but its epenthetic use is largely restricted to cases where a loanword originally began with an /s/ + stop cluster. Thus

³ The vowel of English *cut* is often transcribed as [ʌ], which is the vowel intended here, but both the English vowel and the short ‘a’ in Hindi are more accurately transcribed as [ɐ] according to the IPA (Ohala 1999: 102).

⁴ Oddly enough, the epenthesis of a rounded vowel, such as /u/, has been predicted not to occur (de Lacy 2006: 300). Dhivehi epenthesis of /u/ (which is clearly rounded) is ubiquitous, however.

English *screw* has become ރިސަވްރ *iskuru* in Dhivehi (exemplifying epenthesis of both /i/ and /u/).

3.1.2.1 Nasalized vowels

Nasality is not in general a distinctive property of Dhivehi vowels, but there are a few exceptions. Nasalized vowels occur in some interjections, such as ޅުނުޅު *uñhū* [ūhu:] ‘no, uh-unh’ and ޅާން *āñ* [ã:] ‘yes’ and a few terms, such as ޅާންބަސް *āñbas* ‘approval’, that are built from ޅާން *āñ* ‘yes’ (see Section 3.2.3 for the spelling and Romanization conventions associated with these nasal vowels). The ideophonic (or onomatopoeic) verb ހެނި *heni* ‘laughs’ has a nasalized vowel in its imperative and converb inflections, which are both ހިން *hiñ* [hi:].

There is also a small class of third-person past tense verbs/past participles that are spelled as though they are pronounced as ending in /an/, but are actually pronounced to end in [ɛ̃i?]. These include ވަން *van* ‘entered’, pronounced [vɛ̃i?], ބަން *ban* ‘bound, built’, pronounced [bɛ̃i?], and ޅަން *añ* ‘put on (clothing)’, pronounced [ɛ̃i?], the third-person pasts and past participles of ވަންނަން *vannanī* ‘enters’, ބަންނަން *bannanī* ‘binds, builds’, and ޅަންނަން *annanī* ‘puts on clothing’ respectively (for past tense verbs and participles, see Section 8.3.1 and Section 8.3.2, and for the significance of the rings over final consonants in the Romanization, see Section 3.5 and Table 3.7).

3.1.2.2 Diphthongs

In addition to the monophthongs shown in Table 3.2 are the diphthongs /ai/, /au/, /oi/, and /ui/. However, what is historically /ai/ is generally pronounced as [æ:] in modern times in Malé, although the spelling as a diphthong is retained, as is the pronunciation as [ai] in some parts of the Maldives. Unassimilated loanwords, however, may be pronounced with [ai] even in Malé. An example is the name ޅަންޙާ *aishā* ‘Aisha’. Assimilated loans, however, have [æ:], as in ބައިސްކަލު *baiskalu* ‘bicycle’.

Many cases of what is /au/ in some parts of the country are in modern times pronounced as /a:/ in Malé, but in this case the difference may be reflected in the spelling, leading to the existence of two possible spellings for such words, such as ވާ *vā* and ވަވ *vau* for ‘bat (the animal)’. The latter is considered a conservative spelling in Malé. Loanwords have introduced cases of /au/ that do not alternate with /a:/, however, as in މާލުމާޖު *maulumātu* ‘information’, a loanword from Arabic (via Urdu, according to Reynolds 2003). The diphthong /oi/ is pronounced [oe] in Malé, but as [oi] in some other parts of the country.

3.1.3 Glides

The /j/ (transliterated here as ‘y’) and /v/, while grouped with pure consonants in Table 3.1 and by the orthography (presented below in Section 3.2), are actually *glides* or *semivowels*. As such they will alternate with vowels and be added between vowels. Thus **bai** ‘part’ becomes **bayek** ‘a part, some’ with the addition of the vowel-initial suffix **-ek**, while **tuvarizam** ‘tourism’ has a /v/ (pronounced [w] in this environment) as a glide transition between /u/ and /a/ (for the significance of the rings over final consonants in the Romanization, which indicates that they receive a neutralized pronunciation, see Section 3.5 and Table 3.7). However, glides are not always shown in the written form. Adding the **-ek** suffix to **holi** ‘pipe’ simply yields the spelling **holiek** ‘a pipe’, for example. The spelling of glides is not always consistent, even within a given text. Thus the spellings **liyum** and **lium** both exist for the verbal noun that means ‘writing’.

If the first of two vowels is long or short /o/ or /u/ (and is therefore rounded), the glide inserted will be /v/, as in **tuvarizam** ‘tourism’. If the first vowel is long or short /i/ or /e/, the glide inserted will be /j/, as in **liyum** ‘writing’. If the first vowel is long or short /a/, insertion of a glide, which will be /j/ if used, is optional. Thus, for example, both **ēnāyaṣ** and **ēnā-aṣ** (where the hyphen shows the syllable break) are allowed as the dative of **ēnā** ‘he/she’, though the latter is more common.

3.2 The Thaana script

The script in which Dhivehi is written, **tāna** ‘Thaana’ [ʈaːna], is unique among the world’s writing systems, although it draws inspiration both from the Perso-Arabic script and from the traditional Brāhmī-descended scripts native to South Asia.⁵ It is typologically an alphabet, as it is largely phonemic in its level of representation, but it is nonlinear, in that it writes vowels differently than consonants, rather than writing both vowels and consonants in a single line as the Greek-descended alphabets do. It may therefore be called an *alphasyllabary* in the typology of Bright (1999). It somewhat resembles other South Asian scripts, known as *abugidas* (in the typology of Daniels 1990), or *akṣara* systems (in traditional Indic terminology), but it does not have the unwritten “inherent vowel” of those scripts. Rather, all vowels are written in all positions in a word. Like the Brāhmī scripts, it uses consonants as bases on which to write both long and short vowels, but unlike many of the Brāhmī family, it has no special forms for initial vowels, writing them instead on a silent *alifu*. In this sense it is struc-

⁵ For more on Thaana, see M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1969), Gair and Cain (1996), Mohamed (1999), Gnanadesikan (2011), Gnanadesikan (2012), and Gnanadesikan et al. (2013).

turally like the Arabic script when it uses full vocalization. Like Arabic, Thaana runs from right to left. This allows for the interspersal of Arabic words or phrases in Dhivehi texts.

A unique feature of Thaana is that the letters are at least partly derived from numerals.⁶ The first nine letters are the Persian version of the Eastern Arabic⁷ numerals 1 through 9, written with the pervasive 45-degree slant of modern Thaana. The second nine letters are probably derived from an earlier set of numerals used in the Maldives (Gair and Cain 1996: 565, Mohamed 1999: 32) or perhaps from the corresponding letters of an older, extinct Maldivian writing system, known as *Dhivehi Akuru*, which belonged to the Brāhmī family (Bell 2004 [1883]: 69). The final six letters are in some cases modification of other letters and in some cases of unknown provenance. The vowel symbols for short /a/, /i/ and /u/ are derived from the Arabic optional vowel diacritics, as is the lack-of-vowel sign, the *sukun*.

Like the Perso-Arabic and Brāhmī-derived scripts, Thaana does not distinguish upper and lower case letters. When written on lined paper, the Thaana consonants are suspended from the line.

In 1957 a system of “dotted Thaana” (ދޮގު ތަނާނާ *tiki-jehi-tāna*) was promulgated for the purposes of transliterating the Perso-Arabic script (Maniku 2000: iii). Loanwords from languages that use the Perso-Arabic script (most often Arabic, Persian, and/or Urdu) are often written with dotted Thaana to more accurately represent the original spelling, but except for /x/ and /ʃ/, noted in the consonant table above, accurate Arabic pronunciation is not generally attempted in colloquial speech. Some of the dotted Thaana letters, specifically those standing for /ʃ/ and /z/, are also useful for writing English words. Dotted Thaana letters are not considered members of the alphabet (analogous to the way *é* is not considered a separate letter of the English alphabet although it may be used in foreign words), and they are placed after the “real” alphabet in the dictionary. One letter of the standard Thaana alphabet, the ރ *paviyani*, does contain a dot, but it does not belong to the dotted Thaana series.

The date of the invention of Thaana is not known, but guesses range from the sixteenth century (Maniku 2000: iii) to the late seventeenth century (Mohamed 1999: 31). Prior to that time (and concurrently with the use of Thaana until finally petering out in the late nineteenth century), a left-to-right script of the Brāhmī family known as *Dhivehi akuru*, or *Dives akuru* was used. (*Akuru* means ‘letter’ or ‘alphabet’ in Dhivehi, derived from Sanskrit *aḥṣara*, Reynolds 2003.) The earliest phases of *Dhivehi akuru* have been termed *Eveylaa akuru* (‘script of that [i.e., ancient] time’). The reason for the switch to Thaana is assumed to be achieving compatibility with the Arabic script, as

⁶ The opposite process, the derivation of numerals from letters, is relatively common. Letters of the Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Gothic, Georgian, and Syriac alphabets have all historically been used as numerals (Pettersson 1996: 803).

⁷ As opposed to the Western Arabic numerals used in North Africa and Europe.

it is very difficult to leave the appropriate amount of space when switching between scripts that run in different directions.

3.2.1 Written consonants

The twenty-four base symbols of the *Thaana* alphabet are presented in Maldivian alphabetical order in Table 3.3. These stand for consonants, with the partial exception of 𑌀 ‘alifu’, which is silent when it carries a vowel sign. The IPA symbols corresponding to those listed in Table 3.1 above are given in the second column. The names of the letters, in the third column, are spelled according to the official Maldivian Romanization; the first one or two letters of the name (shown in bold) give the official Romanization used for the consonant. In general, consonants perceived as equivalent to Arabic letters are nowadays given Arabic names while the others end in the original *-viyani*. The *-u* on the end of the Arabicized letter names may sometimes be omitted. The CASL Romanization, used in the rest of this grammar, is shown in the next column. This Romanization system, presented in detail in Gnanadesikan (2011), is more closely aligned with common usage in the linguistic study of South Asian languages; as such it uses underdots for retroflexes and leaves dentals plain, and uses *c* and *j* for the alveolo-palatal affricates and *y* for the palatal glide.

Although Dhivehi does have an official Romanization system, its application is somewhat variable, especially in the Romanization of prenasalized stops and of proper names. It has the advantage of being easily typed on a QWERTY keyboard, but it leaves ambiguities in syllable-final consonants (discussed further in Section 3.5) and so is not used here except in the conventional spellings of names, including *Dhivehi*, *Thaana*, and the letter names.⁸

A major source of difference between the CASL Romanization and the official Romanization is that the official system uses *th* and *dh* for the dental stops, responding to the Dhivehi perception that these are more similar to the dental fricatives of English (spelled *th*) than to the alveolar stops; on the other hand, the official system uses *lh* for a retroflex lateral, so that *h* is sometimes used to indicate a dental and sometimes to indicate a retroflex. These uses of *h* are encouraged by the absence of distinctive aspiration in Dhivehi.

The alphabetical order of the Dhivehi consonants is unique. While the order of the first nine letters follows that of the numerals from which they derive, there is no known reason for the order of the phonemic values the letters bear. (The single exception is

⁸ The official Maldivian Romanization system has been universally panned by Western scholars, being said to “suffer from certain drawbacks” (Reynolds 2003: vi), to have “no scientific value” (Kulikov 2004: 250), and to be “misleading” (Maloney 1980:96). That said, it is less problematic for speakers of English than for those of other languages that use the Roman alphabet, as the vowel Romanizations are designed to imitate English.

Thaana	IPA	name	CASL Roman-ization	Thaana	IPA	name	CASL Roman-ization
ހ	h	haa	h	ތ	t̪	thaa	t
ށ	ʃ	shaviyani	ʃ	ލ	l̪	laamu	l
ނ	n	noonu	n	ގ	g	gaafu	g
ރ	r	raa	r	ޖ	j̪	gnaviyani	ñ
ބ	b	baa	b	ސ	s	seenu	s
ޅ	l̪	lhaviyani	l̪	ޅ	d̪	daviyani	d̪
ކ	k	kaafu	k	ކ	z	zaviyani	z
އ	(see text)	alifu	(see text)	ވ	t̪	taviyani	t̪
ވ	v	vaavu	v	ދ	j̪	yaa	y
މ	m	meemu	m	ލ	p	paviyani	p
ފ	f	faafu	f	ގ	dʒ	javiyani	j̪
ދ	d̪	dhaalu	d̪	ޏ	tʃ	chaviyani	c

Table 3.3: Thaana consonant letters

perhaps the assignment of /v/ to the ninth consonant, formed from an Arabic 9; it may not be an accident that this symbol was assigned this value, as it looks like the Arabic letter *waw*, (و). No order even remotely similar is known among other alphabets. The order of the vowels, on the other hand, is based on the common South Asian order used by Brāhmī-descended scripts. Although the vowel signs are not considered letters of the alphabet, their order with respect to one another is relevant in alphabetized lists.

3.2.2 Written vowels

The vowels signs of Thaana, shown in Table 3.4, are diacritics, known as *fili*, which are written on the consonant letters. In the table as well as in the following text, the vowel signs and the lack-of-vowel sign, *sukun*, are written on an ހ ‘alifu’ for legibility. The actual vowel signs are the signs above or below the ހ ‘alifu’ in Table 3.4. In practice they never occur alone but are always written on one of the consonant signs of Table 3.3. Although most of the vowels are written above their consonant bases, the ހ *i* and

ا̣ i are written below. Compare (reading each word right to left) ڤڤڤڤڤڤ **mazumūnu** ‘literary article’ with ڤڤڤڤ **rīti** ‘beautiful’. Vowels that do not follow a consonant are written on ا̣ ‘alifu’. Thus a vowel-initial (spoken) word is written as beginning with ا̣ ‘alifu’, and the second element of a diphthong is similarly written on ا̣ ‘alifu’. This yields spellings such as ڤڤڤڤڤڤ **alifu** ‘alifu’, with an initial vowel, and ڤڤڤڤ **soi** ‘signature’, with a diphthong.

Thaana	IPA	Name	CASL Romanization	Thaana	IPA	Name	CASL Romanization
ا̣	a	aba-fili	a	ا̣	e	ebe-fili	e
ا̣	a:	aabaa-fili	ā	ا̣	e:	eybey-fili	ē
ا̣	i	ibi-fili	i	ا̣	o	obo-fili	o
ا̣	i:	eebee-fili	ī	ا̣	o:	oaoa-fili	ō
ا̣	u	ubu-fili	u	ا̣	(see text)	sukun	(see text and Table 3.7)
ا̣	u:	ooboo-fili	ū				

Table 3.4: Thaana vowel signs (fili)

What is spelled as the diphthong ڤڤڤڤ **ai** is usually /æ:/ in the spoken language of Malé (but remains /ai/ in various other parts of the Maldives). Exceptions occur in loanwords and in certain grammatical morphemes: in the locative suffix ڤڤڤڤ -**gai**, the suffixing successive particle ڤڤڤڤ -**fai**, and the benefactive postposition ڤڤڤڤ -**ṭakai**. In these grammatical morphemes the orthographic ڤڤڤڤ **ai** is simply /a/, or sometimes /a:/, in the spoken language. This is one of the most obvious ways, beyond the presence of the sentence-final ڤڤڤڤ -**eve** particle, in which written Dhivehi differs from spoken Dhivehi.

In addition to symbols for the ten monophthong vowels is an eleventh symbol, ڤڤڤڤ ‘sukun’, which indicates that no vowel follows the consonant. In the native vocabulary, the *sukun* only appears on syllable-final consonants, but spellings of foreign words with initial consonant clusters has introduced the use of onset *sukuns*, for example in ڤڤڤڤڤڤ **skūl** ‘school’. Thus the presence of a *sukun* on the first letter of a word is a sure sign of a loanword.

In Table 3.4 the Thaana vowel signs are presented in the first column (on *alifu*), followed by the IPA symbols which were listed in Table 3.2 above. The Dhivehi names of the symbols are given in the third column, in official Romanization; as with the consonants, the first letter or two (in bold) indicates the official Romanization of the relevant vowel. The CASL Romanization, given next, is what is used in this text; long vowels are indicated with a macron over the corresponding short vowel. In the official Romanization, by contrast, the long vowels are generally not represented as lengthened versions of the short vowels but are instead made to resemble English long vowels (with *ee* the long version of *i*, not *e*, for example).

3.2.3 Writing prenasalized stops

Besides the consonant phonemes that receive a single Thaana sign there are the prenasalized stops. Nowadays these are usually spelled with digraphs (two letters used to spell a single phoneme). The first element of these digraphs is in each case a **hus-nūnu** ‘empty noonu’, which is a **س** ‘noonu’ with neither a vowel nor *sukun* on it. Thus the prenasalized stops are usually represented as in Table 3.5 (note that in a real word the second element of the digraph will always have a vowel sign on it). Historically—and sometimes even today—the prenasalized stops have been written the same as the voiced stops, i.e., with no written nasal element. So what is nowadays usually spelled **سرسر** **raṅgaḷu** ‘good’ was formerly (and sometimes still is) spelled **سرسر** **ragaḷu**, with the prenasalization left up to the reader to infer.

The officially prescribed Romanization for prenasalized stops is to use an *n* followed by an apostrophe to indicate prenasalization, as in *n'b*, *n'dh*, *n'd*, and *n'g*, but in practice the Romanization of prenasalized stops is somewhat variable; for example, in Abdulla and O'Shea (2005) they are indicated with apostrophes, but in Maniku and Disanayaka (1990) they are italicized. In informal Romanized writing they are often not distinguished from nasal-stop clusters and are written simply as *nd*, *ng*, etc.

As shown in Table 3.5, the Romanization used in this grammar marks the nasal portion of a prenasalized stop with a breve sign above it to distinguish it from an independent nasal consonant phoneme. In the examples presented in later chapters, which are taken from authentic texts, the nasal portions of prenasalized stops are sometimes left out, in accordance with older spelling conventions. In these cases the nasal portion is shown in the Romanization enclosed in square brackets.

A **سرسر** **hus-nūnu** ‘empty noonu’ may also be used in the few cases of nasalized vowels to indicate the nasalization, as in **سرسر** **āñ** [ā:] ‘yes’ and **سرسر** **uñhū** [ūhu:] ‘no, uh-unh’.

Thaana	IPA	CASL Romanization	Thaana	IPA	CASL Romanization
ސރބ	^m b	ṁb	ސރޅ	ⁿ ɖ	ṅɖ
ސރޅ	ⁿ ɖ	ṅɖ	ސރގ	^ŋ g	ṅg

Table 3.5: Writing prenasalized stops

3.3 Writing foreign words

In the writing of foreign words, a number of additions to the general Thaana system are made: the use of dotted Thaana, the use of *sukun* on a wider range of consonants and syllabic positions, and the use of “empty” ސ ‘gaafu’ and ރ ‘raa’ to indicate silent letters.

The dotted Thaana letters are laid out in Table 3.6. In practice, some of these letters are used more often than others. For example, ޖ ‘qaafu’ is relatively common, but ވ ‘waavu’ is rare, with plain ވ ‘vaavu’ generally used instead. In the CASL Romanization, the double underdot indicates that the corresponding Arabic phoneme is pharyngealized, while an ‘h’ indicates that the corresponding Arabic letter represents a fricative. Because Maldivian personal names are predominantly Arabic, the use of dotted Thaana is especially common in personal names. The table gives both the Arabic and the Persian pronunciations; in one case there is only a Persian, and no Arabic, version of the letter. A couple of the dotted Thaana letters, namely ސ ‘sheenu’ and ނ ‘zhaa’, are also used for writing /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in English words.

Foreign words, some of which have become established as loanwords in the language, may use *sukun* on a wider range of consonants than standard Dhivehi has traditionally allowed, which correlates with a growing tolerance of consonant clusters and syllable-final consonants in the standard spoken language. Specifically, ލ ‘laamu-sukun’ and ލ ‘meemu-sukun’ are allowed in well established loans, such as ޖަލްސާ *jalsā* ‘assembly’ and ޖުމްލާ *jumla* ‘total’ (although the latter is listed as ޖުމްލާ *jumula* in the dictionary). The use of *sukun* on other coda consonants indicates either a foreign word or unassimilated loan, or an Arabicized spelling of a word that is in fact well established in the language, such as ޖުމްހޫރިއްޔާ *mujtama’u* ‘society’, also spelled ޖުމްހޫރިއްޔާ *mujutamau*. In a syllable onset, the use of a *sukun* indicates a foreign word (often English), such as ޕްރޮގްރާމް *program* ‘program’, as does the use of two *sukun*-bearing consonants in a row, as in ފިލްމް *film* ‘film’.

The recent influx of English words into Dhivehi has necessitated the spelling of English words in the Thaana script. As mentioned in Section 3.1.1, alveolar stops (spelled *t* and *d* in English) are mapped onto the retroflex stops, ޅ ޑ and ޅ ޑ, while the dental fricatives (both spelled *th* in English) are mapped onto ޅ ޑ and ޅ ޑ.

Letter	Name	Perso-Arabic equivalent	IPA of Arabic/Persian	Official Romanization	CASL Romanization
ه	hhaa	ح	ħ/h	h'	ḥ
خ	khaa	خ	x	kh	kh
ز	zhaa	ژ	—/z	x	zh
ع	ainu	ع	ʕ/?	'	ʕ
غ	ghainu	غ	ɣ/ɣ~G	gh	gh
و	waavu	و	w/v	w	w
ذ	thaa	ذ	ð/z	dh'	dh
ط	to	ط	t ^ʕ /t	t'	t̤
ظ	zo	ظ	ð ^ʕ ~ z ^ʕ /z	z'	z̤
ث	thaa	ث	θ/s	th'	th
ق	qaafu	ق	q/ɣ~G	q	q
ص	saadhu	ص	s ^ʕ /s	s'	s̤
ض	daadhu	ض	d ^ʕ /z	l'	ḍ
ش	sheenu	ش	ʃ	sh'	sh

Table 3.6: Dotted Thaana

The spelling of English words has also introduced the use of empty ʕ ‘gaafu’ and ʕ ‘raa’. The empty ʕ ‘gaafu’ is used in the spelling of English words with the velar nasal /ŋ/, spelled *ng*. It indicates that the English word orthographically contains in a *g*, but does not contain a [g] sound. This may seem unnecessary, given that Dhivehi words that end in a nasal are pronounced with a neutral nasal [ŋ] anyway (see Section 3.5). However, the velar nasal is not phonemic in the language, and unassimilated loanwords may be exempted from the neutralization that creates it. An example of the use of empty *gaafu* is ހައުސިންގ **hausing** ‘housing’. (Note that the English pronunciation of the orthographic *s* as [z] is not indicated in this particular word but is in certain other

words, such as **tuvarizam** ‘tourism’.) The CASL Romanization indicates the empty *gaafu* the same way as an empty *noonu*, with a breve mark over the letter.

Similarly, the empty *raa* is used to indicate English *r* in syllable-final positions, which is not pronounced as a consonant (and is instead pronounced as a vowel or a modification of the previous vowel) in standard British English. In an approximation of British pronunciation, these *r*’s are indicated with empty *raa* to show that they are silent and to indicate the appropriate modification of the vowel quality. However, many such words also have spellings (and pronunciations) with *-ru*. Thus the clearly foreign **liḍaṛ** ‘leader’ coexists with the more Dhivehi-ized **liḍaru**. In other cases (especially when there is a following consonant) there may be no representation of the original English *r*, as in **rizōṭu** ‘resort’ (also spelled **risōṭ**), which represents no rhotic consonant in the second syllable but represents the vowel as long, as in British English. As with other empty letters, the empty *raa* is Romanized here with a breve mark.

3.4 Syllables

Dhivehi *syllables* are confined to the following types: (C)V, (C)VV, (C)VC, (C)VVC, where “VV” may be either a long vowel or a diphthong. Words that do not conform to a legitimate type are adjusted through epenthesis of /u/ (or occasionally /i/ as described above in Section 3.1.2). The following words exemplify the syllable types.

V CV CV **akuru** ‘letter, alphabet, grammatical particle’

CVV **bō** ‘head’

CVC **bas** ‘word, language’

CVVC CV CVV **baindani** ‘keeps, detains’

The above constraints on syllable shape and the constraints on syllable codas presented below in Section 3.4.1 result in Dhivehi allowing very few consonant clusters. Tautosyllabically (within a single syllable), consonant clusters do not exist in the native vocabulary, assuming that the prenasalized stops are analyzed as single phonemes. Across a syllable boundary, the native vocabulary allows geminates, homorganic nasal-stop clusters, clusters beginning with /s/, and the cluster /nh/ (pronounced [ŋh]). Established loans such as **jumla** ‘total’ and **jalsā** ‘assembly’ have introduced clusters that begin with /l/ or with nasals that are not homorganic with the following consonant, while more recent loans have introduced yet further clusters. Recent loans may either be given Dhivehi pronunciations, with the clusters broken up by epenthetic /u/, or more foreign pronunciations.

3.4.1 Phoneme distribution

Considering first the consonants (and using now CASL Romanization rather than IPA), the position in which all consonants (or at least all that are not marked as marginal in Table 3.1) may occur is in a word-internal syllable onset. All other positions have at least some restrictions.

Word initially, prenasalized stops are nonexistent. Retroflexes (other than /ɾ/) are also extremely restricted. It is evident that, like other Indo-Aryan languages, Dhivehi historically shared the typical Dravidian prohibition on initial retroflexes (Steever 1998: 15), with the result that initial /ɖ/ and /ɗ/ are restricted to loans, initial /ʂ/ is nonexistent (except for the letter name *ṣaviyani*), and initial /ɭ/ occurs in only a very few words (though they are native). Initial /c/, /j/ and /y/ are also rare. Initial /y/ occurs only in loans (though not necessarily recent ones), initial /c/ occurs in loans and onomatopoeia, and initial /j/ occurs in loans and (paradoxically) in one the most common Dhivehi verbs, *ḡḡḡ jahanī* ‘strikes’. The rarity of initial palatals is due to a historical change from Old Indo-Aryan /*c/ to Dhivehi /h/ (via /*s/), /*j/ to /d/, and /*y/ to /d/ (via /*j/) (M. W. Sugathapala De Silva 1970: 158).⁹ The initial palatals that do occur postdate this sound shift. Other historical sound changes were those weakening Old Dhivehi /p/ to /f/, /t/ to /ʃ/, and /s/ to /h/ (Disanayake 1986: 94–96). Thus initial /p/ is rare, occurring only in loanwords. On the other hand, there have been enough /s/-initial loans imported since the weakening to make initial /s/ not particularly rare.

Word internally, all consonants may occur in syllable onset, as mentioned, although /p/, /s/, /c/, /j/ occur in native words in this position only as the second element of a geminate. All may be found in established loans, however. The phoneme /z/ is relatively rare, being limited to loanwords, though some of these are well established in the language.

The consonants in syllable-final (coda) position are subject to a strong *coda condition*, which limits coda consonants in the native and assimilated loan vocabulary. Word internally, a syllable coda may only be /s/, the first element of a geminate, or a nasal. That nasal will be the first element of a geminate nasal, the first element of a homorganic nasal-stop cluster (i.e., one pronounced with a shared place of articulation), or the phoneme /n/ before /h/, in which case it will be pronounced [ŋ], as in *ḡḡḡ anhen* [aŋhen] ‘female’. Loanwords with a coda /m/ or /l/, as in *ḡḡḡ jumla* ‘total’ or *ḡḡḡ jalsā* ‘assembly’ (both from Urdu), are gaining acceptance in the language.

Word finally, a syllable coda is limited (on a phonemic level) to /k/, /t/, /ʃ/, /s/, /n/, and /m/. Phonetically, these will be realized [ʔ], [s], [ŋ], or the first element of a geminate or homorganic nasal-stop cluster (created by assimilation to the first element of the following word or morpheme). The glottal stop, [ʔ], results from underlying /k/,

⁹ The asterisk in these examples indicates linguistic forms that are not attested from historical records but which may be deduced from comparison with related languages.

/ʃ/ or /t/, while the [ŋ] may result from either /m/ or /n/. This will be discussed more in Section 3.5 below.

All consonants except for the prenasalized stops (which do not occur in the relevant positions) and /h/ can occur as geminates (double consonants) via sandhi across word boundaries, as in **ek-ṣaviyani** [eṣṣaviyani] ‘one shaviyani (letter)’. Geminates also occur within words and even morpheme internally, except that /ʃʃ/ does not occur in such positions (the geminate of /ʃ/ being /tʃ/), and geminate /ff/, /ll/, /hh/, and /rr/ are rare and only occur in loanwords (the native geminate form of /f/ is /pp/). A few of the rare examples are **kaffāra** ‘penance’ (from Arabic), **selḷi** ‘flea, sandfly’ (from Tamil), **sihhatu** ‘health’ (from Arabic, also spelled **sihḥatu**, with clearly foreign phonology) and **sirru** ‘secret’ (ultimately from Arabic).¹⁰ The geminate /dd/ is extremely rare, **uḍḍuṇṇ** ‘face up’ being the only monomorphemic nonloan I have found.¹¹ The geminated form of a prenasalized stop is a nasal-stop cluster, although /ñd/ does not participate in gemination processes. For more on the phonology of Dhivehi geminates, see Section 3.6.4.

As for the occurrence and distribution of vowels, the diphthongs /ui/ and /oi/ are relatively rare, but they do occur in native words such as **oi** ‘(ocean) current’ and **māmui** ‘honey’. Long vowels are noticeably less common than short vowels. In uninflected native words, a final long vowel is usually a short vowel plus /l/ underlyingly (see Section 3.6.3). Usually uninflected vowel-final words of more than one syllable end in /i/, /a/, or /u/. Various inflected verb forms have /ā/, /e/, /ē/, /ī/, and /ai/ in final position, which helps to indicate that they are verbs. Words of more than one syllable ending in /o/ are relatively rare, though some of those words themselves are quite common, such as **kokko** ‘younger sibling’. These /o/-final words, if monomorphemic, are virtually all of no more than two syllables. Similarly, monomorphemic words of more than one syllable ending in /ō/ are extremely rare outside of recent loans such as **viḍiō** ‘video’. The vowels /ū/, /o/, and /ō/ are rare in verbs, while /u/ is less rare and is also used to form certain past tense forms.

¹⁰ Dhivehi has borrowed extensively from Urdu, and also directly from Persian and Arabic. Since Urdu itself contains many Persian and Arabic loanwords, it is not always possible to tell which language a word was borrowed from. I am indebted to Reynolds 2003 for the origin of **selḷi** ‘flea, sandfly’.

¹¹ An obvious apparent counterexample is the geminate /dd/ that occurs in **aḍḍū** ‘Addu’, the name of the southernmost atoll of the Maldives. However, this name derives from **aṣṣ** **dū** ‘eight islands’.

3.4.2 Stress

Stress is not highly salient in Dhivehi. What stress there is is assigned according to the weight of a syllable and its precedence in a word.¹² Long vowels (including diphthongs) and coda consonants both contribute to syllable weight, with the result that there are three levels of weight: light, which includes V and CV syllables; heavy, which includes VV, CVV, VC, and CVC syllables; and superheavy, which are VVC or CVVC syllables. The basic rule that applies for most Dhivehi words is one that is known cross-linguistically as “leftmost heavy syllable, otherwise leftmost syllable” (Hayes 1995: 297).¹³ In other words, if there is a single heaviest syllable in a word, it receives stress. If there is a tie for heaviest syllable, the first one receives stress. If there is no heavy syllable, the first syllable of the word receives stress. The following words illustrate the assignment of stress in Dhivehi, including the fact that prenasalized stops do not add to the weight of a syllable. In the following list, stressed syllables are indicated by an acute accent over the vowel (for the significance of the rings over the final *m* in the Romanization, which indicates that they receive a neutralized pronunciation, see Section 3.5).

ڪوٽاري **kóṭari** ‘room (of a building)’

އުމްމިދު **úmmīdu** ‘hope’

ތިރިސް **tirís** ‘thirty’

ކާކު **káku** ‘who’

ކަކު **kakú** ‘knee’

އެއްދުމް **eñdúm** ‘burning (intransitive)’

އެއްދުމް **éndum** ‘burning something (transitive)’

ބަލަހާއްޖަނީ **balaháṭṭani** ‘sees to’


There is, however, a class of exceptions to the general stress rule in Dhivehi, at least for some speakers. This exception is in fact illustrated by the word *Dhivehi* itself. These words are predicted by the general stress rule to be stressed on the first syllable but are in fact stressed on the second syllable.


¹² Dhivehi stress has been variously described in previous work. Cain and Gair report that the heaviest syllable of the first two receives stress (Cain and Gair 2000: 13), while Fritz correctly points out that if both of the first two syllables are light, a heavy third syllable will take the stress, as in ލަނާސީ **alanási** ‘pineapple’ (Fritz 2002: 47–48).


¹³ This formulation may be confusing in the case of Dhivehi, however, because *leftmost* as used by Hayes means ‘occurring first in a word’, but in Thaana, a syllable that occurs first in a word will be on the right, not the left.



The following words are examples of the exceptional stress.¹⁴

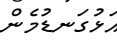
 **divéhi** ‘Dhivehi’

 **fiyóhi** ‘small knife’

 **ilóši** ‘mid-rib of palm leaf’

 **buréki** ‘fusilier damselfish’

The reason for this class of exceptions is unclear. Ending in /i/ as they do, these words undergo a gemination process when they take a vowel-initial suffix, as described in Section 3.6.4. By the gemination process, stress would be on their second syllables in, for example, their indefinite form. This could be, as Fritz suggests (Fritz 2002: 47), part of the reason for this exceptional stress assignment, in that these words would keep the same stress across inflections. However,  **kóveli** ‘cuckoo’ has initial stress despite ending in /i/ and participating in the gemination process, as does  **múlihi** ‘boil, blister’. The generalization appears to be that the word fits a CVCVCV pattern, in which the first vowel is high, the second is mid, and the third is /i/. Furthermore, the final consonant is one that can geminate (see Section 3.6.4). It appears, however, that not all speakers employ this exceptional stress, although more work is needed on this point.

Heavy syllables other than the one that receives main stress may receive secondary stress, and light syllables may receive secondary stress on an alternating, every-other basis, as in  **àlugaṇḍumén** ‘we/us (deferential)’.

3.5 Phonological alternations and the coda condition

Consonants that occur in codas of syllables are subject to strong constraints on their occurrence, and those that do occur undergo considerable neutralization and assimilation. In native words only /k/, /t/, /ʃ/, /s/, /n/, /m/, and the first element of a geminate or homorganic nasal-stop cluster may occur in a syllable coda. These are laid out in the first column of Table 3.7.

The pronounced surface forms of these phonemes in coda position are even more restricted than their underlying forms, and most of them receive a reduced or neutralized pronunciation, indicated in the Romanization in column 5 of Table 3.7 as a ring above the consonant letter. Both /n/ and /m/ surface prepausally (i.e., if no word follows) as the velar nasal [ŋ], and /k/, /t/, and /ʃ/ all surface as the glottal stop [ʔ] prepausally, as shown in the second column of Table 3.7. When a final /t/ reduces to

¹⁴ The first two words in the list, as well as a third from the Addu dialect, are noted by Fritz (Fritz 2002: 47), but the phenomenon is rather more widespread than she realized.

[ʔ], however, it triggers a glide [j] as a transition from the previous vowel to the glottal stop. The glide is not associated with extra syllable weight. In other words, the glide and the glottal stop together function as a single weight-bearing unit, not as two.¹⁵ If the vowel preceding the /t/ is short, then the pronounced [Vɪʔ] will be a heavy syllable, not a superheavy syllable. If /ā/ precedes the /t/, it will sometimes be fronted to [æ:ɪʔ], though the short vowel /a/ is not affected in this way. Thus, for example, **gāt** ‘near’ is sometimes pronounced [gæ:ɪʔ] and sometimes [ga:ɪʔ], but **fat** ‘leaf’ is pronounced [faɪʔ].

Before a consonant (other than /h/), the only nasal allowed is one homorganic with the consonant; thus both /n/ and /m/ assimilate to the place of a following consonant. Of the non-nasals, only /s/ or the first part of a geminate is allowed before a consonant; thus /t/, /k/ and /ʃ/ all assimilate to a following consonant, forming geminates. These assimilations are shown in the third column of Table 3.7. The /t/ continues to trigger the glide /j/, however, as shown in the table. The glide triggered by a coda /t/ means that there is a contrast between a simple [tt] geminate and a glided [ɪtt] geminate. The first is spelled **tt** or **kt**, as in **batti** ‘lamp’, and the latter is spelled **t̃t**, as in **foṭtak** ‘books’.

An additional wrinkle, also shown in the table, is that if the coda consonant is /ʃ/ and it comes to be followed by a dental stop in a tightly bound structure such as a compound, the retroflexion of the /ʃ/ will show up on the resulting geminate, as in when **aṣ** ‘eight’ and **diha** ‘ten’ combine to form **aṣḍiha** [aḍḍiha] ‘eighty’, also spelled **aḍḍiha**. This retroflexion does not occur with the addition of inflectional suffixes or across words not tightly bound in a compound or word + particle structure. Thus **raṣ** ‘island’ combines with the plural suffix **taḥ** as simply **raṣṭaḥ** [rattaʔ] ‘islands’.

The geminations and place assimilations indicated in the third column as happening before another consonant operate both within and across words, with the exception of the retroflexing effect of the **ṣ**, which does not happen across words except when the words form a compound. Additionally, consonants other than /n/ do not appear before /h/ within a word.

Because /k/ assimilates completely to a following consonant (without the offglide of /t/ or the retroflexion of /ʃ/), there is no contrast within a morpheme between an underlying coda /k/ and the first element of a geminate. One could theoretically derive all morpheme-internal geminates from /k/ + C, but that option is not pursued here.

¹⁵ Arguably, the glide may be considered an onglide to the glottal stop, rather than an offglide of the vowel. In other words, rather than the vowel being a diphthong, the glottal stop may have prepalatalization: [ʔʲ] (Gnanadesikan n.d.). This would account both for the lack of additional syllable weight and for the fact that sequences of underlying /at/ do not become [æ:ʔ] in Malé the way sequences of /ai/ become [æ:ɪ].

The remaining columns of Table 3.7 present the spelling and Romanization of coda consonants, returned to and exemplified in Section 3.5.1 and Table 3.8. The ring above the consonants in the CASL Romanization is intended to remind learners that the phoneme receives a reduced pronunciation.

A generalization that can be made here is that Dhivehi coda consonants are not permitted to display contrastive places of articulation. Besides consonants which share their place of articulation with the following (onset) consonant (i.e., geminates and nasals in assimilated clusters), only one fricative, /s/, is permitted; and similarly only one stop, [ʔ], which lacks an oral place of articulation; and one nasal, [ŋ], with a neutralized place of articulation.

Underlying form	Pronunciation prepausally	Pronunciation before C other than /h/	Spelling	CASL Romanization	Official Romanization
/k/	[ʔ]	First part of a geminate	ك	ġ	h
First part of a geminate	N/A	First part of a geminate	ك	First part of a geminate	First part of a geminate or h
/t/	[ʔ]	[i] + first part of a geminate	ت	ġ	iy (but just y after i)
/ʃ/	[ʔ]	First part of a geminate (with following dentals retroflexed in compounds)	ش	š	h
/s/	[s]	[s]	س	s	s
/m/	[n]	First part of a geminate nasal or nasal-stop cluster	م	m̄ when morpheme final, otherwise m	n
/n/	[n]	First part of a geminate nasal or nasal-stop cluster	ن	n̄ when morpheme final, otherwise n	n
First part of a geminate nasal or nasal-stop cluster	N/A	First part of a geminate nasal or nasal-stop cluster	ن	n, n̄, or m, depending on following consonant	n

Table 3.7: Coda consonants

If a vowel-initial suffix is added to a word, the underlying form shown in the first column of Table 3.7 is the pronunciation used. Not shown in Table 3.7, but exemplified in the rightmost column of Table 3.8, is the further fact that any word-final consonant other than /s/ will be pronounced [ŋ] immediately before a word that starts with /h/ or a vowel. If the word-final consonant is /t/, it will be pronounced [t̪].

Word-internal codas with /l/ and /m/ are coming into the language, as mentioned in Section 3.4.1, but other illicit codas in loanwords will be made into onsets with the addition of epenthetic /u/, as in جَوَابُ **javābu** ‘answer’, from Urdu *javāb*, unless a more foreign pronunciation is intended.

3.5.1 Spelling and Romanization of coda consonants

In the orthography of native Dhivehi words, only five letters may take a *sukun*, indicating that they are not followed by a vowel: ا ‘alifu’, س s, ن n, ت t, and ش ş. The mnemonic for these is اَسِنُتَشِ **ā-sīnu-taṣi** ‘new china dish’. In native words, any letter with a *sukun* represents a coda consonant. Only coda consonants are not followed by a vowel, as consonant clusters within a syllable are not permitted.

An underlying coda /k/ and the marker of gemination are both spelled ا ‘alifu-sukun’, not ک ‘kaafu-sukun’. (The latter appears only in foreign words and is given the foreign pronunciation of [k].) Thus the spelling of a morpheme ending in /k/ will vary between ending with ا ‘alifu-sukun’ and ending in ک ‘kaafu’ (with a vowel *fili*), depending on whether it is (on the one hand) word final or before a consonant-initial suffix, or (on the other hand) before a vowel-initial suffix (see Table 3.8). Geminate retroflexes may sometimes be spelled with ش ‘shaviyani-sukun’ rather than ا ‘alifu-sukun’ as the gemination marker. Nasal geminates use ن ‘noonu-sukun’ as a gemination marker, but in foreign words may use ا ‘alifu-sukun’, as in مُحَمَّدُ **muhammadu** ‘Mohamed’. Thaana orthography is unusual in having explicit markers of gemination rather than specifically doubling each letter (or leaving gemination unmarked) as most other scripts do.¹⁶ The ن ‘noonu-sukun’ also serves to mark the nasal portion of any nasal-stop cluster.

The behavior of coda consonants is one reason why this work does not use the official Dhivehi Romanization. The official Romanization does not differentiate between underlying final /k/ and /ʃ/ or between final /m/ and /n/, which means that a learner will not know how to add a vowel-initial suffix to such a word. The CASL Romanization distinguishes them, but adds a ring, reminiscent of the *sukun*, to remind learners that these phonemes have reduced or assimilated pronunciations.

Examples of coda consonant alternations and their spellings are given in Table 3.8. Note that there is not always a space between words in written Dhivehi; thus ex-

¹⁶ Arabic has a gemination marker, the *shadda*, but only as an optional diacritic.

amples like those in the rightmost column often occur without spaces. However, when a vowel starts a new word it is written on an *alifu*, even if there is no space before it. Some of these examples (the last two) are lexicalized compounds, but in this respect they behave phonologically like two words. The use of the *alifu* captures their phonological behavior in that respect. Their component parts are divided by hyphens in the Romanization.

Underlying consonant	Prepausally	Before vowel-initial suffix	Before a consonant	Before vowel-initial word
/k/	ރުކު ruk [ruʔ] ‘palm tree’	ރުކާޝު rukaʃ [rukaʔ] ‘to the palm tree’	ރުކުގާންދު rukgañdu [ruggañdu] ‘palm grove’	ރުކު ޅަރުމު ruk erum [ruŋ eruŋ] ‘climbing the palm tree’
/t/	ފޮތް foṭ [foṭʔ] ‘book’	ފޮތާއި fotāi [fotāi] ‘book and...’	ފޮތްތައް fottaḱ [foṭtaʔ] ‘books’	ފޮތު ޅެއްދުމު foṭ ufeddum [foṭŋ ufeddun] ‘book production’
/ʃ/	ހަށ aʃ [aʔ] ‘eight (adj.)’	ހަށަން aʃek [aʃeʔ] ‘eight (n.)’	ހަށަނަވާ aʃvana [avvana] ‘eighth’	ހަށަނަވަން ހަށ aʃ aharu [aŋ aharu] ‘eight years’
/m/	ނަން naṁ [naŋ] ‘name, noun’	ނަން ގަވާއިދު namakuṁ [namakuŋ] ‘with some name’	ނަން ލިޔެ naṁ liye [naŋ liye] ‘having written the name’	ނަން ލިޔެ ހަށ naṁ-ituru [naŋ ituru] ‘adjective’
/n/	ފެން feṇ [feŋ] ‘water’	ފެން ހެންނަ feṇakī [feṇakī] ‘the water is...’	ފެން ދެއްކު feṇdēṇ [feṇ dēŋ] ‘to give water’	ފެން ހަށ ފެންނަ feṇ-iskuru [feŋ iskuru] ‘water tap’

Table 3.8: Coda consonants—examples

3.6 Morphophonology

A number of general *morphophonological processes* are at work in Dhivehi. These are processes that apply specifically when suffixes are added to a word (most Dhivehi mor-

phology is suffixing) but they do not apply within a morpheme or across word boundaries. Morphophonological processes that operate over the language in general or apply to words of more than one class (part of speech) are laid out here. Morphophonological processes that are specific to a particular inflection or derivation in a particular class of words are described in the chapter devoted to that part of speech.

3.6.1 S-lenition

One prominent morphophonological rule of Dhivehi is the lenition of /s/, in which a morpheme-final **s** becomes **h** with the addition of a vowel-initial suffix, as in **bas** ‘language, word’ versus **bahek** ‘a language, a word’. This rule is the reflex of a historical process in which /s/ became /h/ before vowels generally. However, the acquisition of loanwords has reintroduced prevocalic /s/ into the language (in words like **sai** ‘tea’), and the rule now operates only at the morphophonological level (across word-internal morpheme boundaries). At this level, however, s-lenition applies to both native words and loanwords, sometimes seriously reducing a learner’s ability to identify loanwords, as when **rēs** ‘race’ becomes **rēhuñ** ‘from/with the race’.

3.6.2 U-deletion

Deletion of final short /u/ occurs before a vowel-initial suffix or suffixing particle: compare **sababu** ‘reason’ and **sababaki** ‘the reason is’. An exception is the highly literary first-person plural/second-person verbal agreement suffix **-mu** (introduced in Section 8.3.1), which retains its /u/ before the sentence-ending **-eve**.

3.6.3 Alternation of L with long vowels or YO

In the native vocabulary, most word-final long vowels alternate with a short vowel plus /l/ with the addition of a vowel-initial suffix. Examples are **ā** ‘new’ vs. **aluñ** ‘anew, over again’, **bō** ‘head’ vs. **bolaş** ‘to the head’, and **uñdagū** ‘difficulty’ vs. **uñdagulek** ‘a difficulty’. This alternation does not apply to loanwords or to long vowels that arise from inflection, which occurs in verbs (see Chapter 8). A few words, such as **velā** ‘green sea turtle’, have final long vowels that are underlyingly simply long vowels and do not alternate with /l/. They shorten their final vowel before a vowel-initial suffix, as discussed further in Section 3.6.6.

Native words that end in [eyo] when no suffix follows replace the [yo] with [l] or [el] with the addition of a vowel-initial suffix. Thus **veyo** ‘creeper’ becomes **velek** ‘a creeper’, and **keyo** ‘banana’ becomes **kēlek** ‘a banana’. Whether the

vowel will be long or short in the suffixed form must be memorized on a case-by-case basis.

3.6.4 Gemination and palatalization

When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a stem that ends in a single consonant followed by a short /i/, a complex process of gemination and palatalization or metathesis takes place, with the precise outcome depending on the particular consonant before the /i/, as summarized in Table 3.9. This gemination and palatalization/metathesis is the most complex morphophonological process in Dhivehi and can significantly confuse a learner, as the affixed forms can be quite different from the unaffixed forms. This process applies quite regularly in nouns and adjectives, but not to the particle **adi** ‘and, yet’ or to most verbs. The common verbs **buni** ‘say.PST’, **tibi** ‘are located.PST’, and **huri** ‘be, stand.PST’, however, do participate in this process, becoming **buññeve**, **tibbeve**, and (via its historical and literary form **huṣi**) **huṭṭeve** with the addition of the sentence final particle. Some writers will include a few other verbs among those affected as well.

As for the gemination part of the process, most consonants simply double in length, but the /h/, /ʃ/, and /f/ strengthen as well, to /ss/, /tʃ/ and /pp/ respectively, as shown in Table 3.9. This is because of a historical lenition process (referred to above in Section 3.4.1 and Section 3.6.1) that weakened single /s/, /t/ and /p/ to /h/, /ʃ/ and /f/ but left the geminated forms unchanged. Some consonants are incompatible with gemination in Dhivehi and resist it: these include consonants that are already geminate or part of a cluster, and /r/, /dʒ/, /ñdʒ/, and /l/ (i.e., all of the retroflex consonants other than /ʃ/). These consonants resist gemination in this process and also in the other morphological gemination process in Dhivehi, which occurs in the derivation of causative and honorific verbs, as discussed in Section 8.1.¹⁷ Prenasalized stops, on the other hand, can geminate (except for the retroflex /ñdʒ/); their geminated form is a full nasal-stop cluster.

For purposes of the palatalization, consonants fall into four classes: coronal consonants¹⁸ that can palatalize (most “plain,” i.e., dental or alveolar coronals), coronal

¹⁷ Geminate /rr/ and /dʒdʒ/ do exist in Dhivehi loanwords, for example in **sirru** ‘secret’ (from Urdu) and **aḍḍana** ‘shield’ (from Sanskrit), but neither /r/, /dʒ/, nor the other retroflex consonants listed undergo morphophonological gemination processes. They do, however, undergo sandhi gemination across word boundaries after an assimilating final consonant, as in **varaṣ raṅgaḷu** [varar raṅgaḷu] ‘very good’, as described in Section 3.5.

¹⁸ Coronal consonants include all those made with the blade or tip of the tongue, including dental, alveolar, retroflex, and palato-alveolar consonants. Of the coronal consonants of Dhivehi, the palato-alveolars do not generally occur in the input environment to the

consonants that are incompatible with palatalization (/ʃ/ and /h/—note that /h/ geminates as a coronal, /ss/), consonants that are neutral with respect to palatalization (velars and labials), and consonants that are immune to gemination.

The consonants that can palatalize do so, becoming palato-alveolar and effectively absorbing the /i/ into their pronunciation as they geminate. The /i/ is thus lost in the process. Examples are given in the top rows of Table 3.9, labeled as *Palatalizable coronal*. The consonants that are incompatible with palatalization simply lose all trace of the original /i/ when they geminate, as shown in the rows labeled *Unpalatalizable coronal*. Consonants that are neutral with respect to palatalization develop an *i* on-glide to the geminate (thus one could say that the /i/ and the consonant metathesize). This is spelled with ʃ ‘thaa-sukun’, which indicates a glide-*i* + gemination when preceding another consonant, as was shown in Table 3.7. These consonants are labeled in Table 3.9 as *Neutral consonant*. The segments that are immune to gemination also do not participate in the palatalization, and the entire process fails to apply to them. Examples in which the process fails are shown at the bottom of Table 3.9, labeled *Immune consonant*.

Table 3.9: Gemination and palatalization

Category	General rule	Instantiations	Examples
Palatalizable coronal	Ci → C _[palatal] C _[palatal]	ti → cc	eti ‘thing’ → eccek ‘a thing’
		di → jj	kudi ‘small’ → kujjek ‘a child’
		ñdi → ñj	kañdi ‘porridge’ → kañjek ‘a porridge’
		ni → ññ	dūni ‘bird’ → dūññek ‘a bird’
		li → yy	fili ‘vowel sign’ → fiyyek ‘a vowel sign’
Unpalatalizable coronal	Ci → CC	hi → ss	divehi ‘Maldivian’ → divessek ‘a Maldivian’

gemination-and-palatalization process. Rather, they have arisen in the language as the output this process.

Table 3.9: (continued)

Category	General rule	Instantiations	Examples
Neutral consonant	Ci → iCC	ʃi → t̤t̤	کاش kaʃi ‘bone/thorn’ → کاشک kat̤t̤ek ‘a bone/thorn’
		bi → t̤b [iɓb]	لوبي lōbi ‘love’ → لوبيک lōt̤bek ‘a love’
		ki → t̤k [iɓk]	بوريک bureki ‘damselish’ → بوريکاکي buret̤kak̤i ‘the damselsish is...’
		vi → t̤v [iɓv]	اوي avi ‘sunshine’ → اويک at̤vek ‘a sunshine’
Immune consonant	Ci = Ci	m̥bi → t̤m̥b [iɓm̥b]	امبي am̥bi ‘wife’ → امبيک at̤m̥bek ‘a wife’
		ri = ri	کوتاري koṭari ‘room’ → کوتاريک koṭariek ‘a room’
		li = li	هولي hoḷi ‘pipe’ → هوليک hoḷiek ‘a pipe’
		ḡi = ḡi	غادي gaḡi ‘hour’ → غاديک gaḡiek ‘an hour’
		ṇḡi = ṇḡi	گوندي goṇḡi ‘chair’ → گونديک goṇḡiek ‘a chair’

3.6.5 N-gemination

A final /n/ geminates before a vowel-initial suffix, but only if it is itself in an inflectional affix or a pronoun. Thus **rayyituṇ** ‘citizens’ (with a plural suffix) becomes **rayyitunnaṣ** ‘to the citizens’, and **kuramuṇ** ‘while doing’ (with a simultaneous suffix) becomes **kuramunneve**, the literary form of the word in sentence-final position, with the sentence-final particle **-eve**. However, unflected words such as **taṇ** ‘place’, **gudaṇ** ‘warehouse’ and **diṇ** ‘religion’ do not participate in this alternation.

3.6.6 Vowel and diphthong shortening

Function words and suffixes (including inflectional verb endings) that end in **ai** lose the **i** before a vowel-initial suffix. For many of the grammatical words and suffixes, however, this is simply an orthographic alternation at this point in the history of the language, as they are pronounced without the **i** anyway in spoken Dhivehi. Thus the locative suffix **-gai** is written **ga** before a vowel-initial suffix (see Section 5.3 for case suffixes), the verbal particle **-fai** becomes **-fa** (see Section 8.3.5 for more on **-fai**), the benefactive suffixing postposition **-ṭakai** becomes **-ṭaka** (see Section 7.1.3 for the benefactive postposition). In spoken Dhivehi they all end in **a** (or sometimes **ā**) anyway; thus sometimes writers fail to observe the orthographic shortening rule, preserving the (spelled) diphthong. This simplified pronunciation in function words and suffixes, along with the absence of the written sentence-ending **-eve**, is one of the more noticeable differences between spoken Dhivehi and the written form of the language.

Verbs that end in **ā** or **ē** (or **ai**, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph) shorten their final vowel or diphthong (to **a**, **e**, or **a**) before the written sentence-final particle **-eve**. Thus the verb **lai** ‘put.CNV’ is **la-eve** with the addition of the sentence-final particle, **hadā** ‘make.PRS.3’ is **hada-eve**, and **kurē** ‘do.PRS.3’ is **kure-eve**.

The situation is less straightforward in nouns. Nouns that end in **ā** usually have an underlying final **l** (as described in Section 3.6.3), which surfaces in the environment of a vowel-initial suffix, obviating the triggering environment for the shortening rule. However, a few nouns, such as **velā** ‘green sea turtle’ do not have the final **l** and shorten their final vowel before a vowel-initial suffix. Nouns ending in **ai** are rare, but the relatively common word **bai** ‘part’ does not participate in the shortening, yielding forms such as the indefinite **bayek** ‘a part, some’. Nouns ending in **ē** are also rare, but the pronoun **kalē** ‘you’ shortens its final vowel (producing forms such as dative **kaleaṣ** ‘to you’). Loanwords do not participate in the shortening process, so **jalsā** ‘assembly’, for example, retains its long vowel with the addition of a vowel-initial suffix.

3.7 Numerals

Dhivehi uses the Arabic (or “Western Arabic”) numerals also used in North Africa and in the European languages: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9. Although the Thaana script runs from right to left, numbers in Dhivehi are written the same direction as they are in English, with the higher place values at the left and the lower ones at the right, as they also are in languages that use the Perso-Arabic script. Thus **fas-doḷas-tineḷ** ‘sixty-three’ (lit. ‘five-dozen three’) is written in numerals as 63. Occasionally word-

processing glitches result in the reversal of the sequence of numerals, so that, for example, 1998 becomes 8991. This is particularly likely to happen when text is copied and pasted. The Eastern Arabic numerals are used in some contexts, such as in giving Islamic dates.

3.8 Punctuation

Periods are the most common punctuation mark in written Dhivehi and are used sentence finally and sometimes after an abbreviation. A period rather than a question mark is often used after a question, with the interrogative status of the sentence considered to be clear because of the presence of a final question particle. When it does use a question mark, Dhivehi uses the Arabic version, which opens to the right: ؟. Also sometimes used is the comma, which curls to the right and is slightly raised, as in Arabic: ،. Commas are usually not used to separate items in a list or to separate two successive adjectives, but they may be. Western-style colons, dashes, parentheses, exclamation marks, and double quotation marks are occasionally but not consistently used. Quotation marks are considered incorrect (and are rendered unnecessary, though they are sometimes used) in the presence of quotative particles (see Section 9.1.2), but are considered correct for exact quotes that do not use quotative particles, a formal style often used in modern reporting. The semicolon, which is quite rare, is right-facing with the comma on top: ؛.

In general, Dhivehi takes a minimalist approach to punctuation, with most punctuation other than the period being relatively seldom used.

3.9 Theoretical works

Dhivehi phonology and writing have, like the rest of the language, received little attention in the linguistic literature. However, there are a few exceptions. Both Cain (2000a) and Arsenault (2009) consider the palatalization and gemination process described in Section 3.6.4. Cain (2000a) applies Optimality Theory to the process and Arsenault (2009) argues that retroflexes are immune to the process because retroflexion is incompatible with palatalization. Gnanadesikan (n.d.) analyzes the assimilations of Dhivehi syllables codas to following onsets within Optimality Theory.

The Thaana writing system has received theoretical attention in M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1969) and Gnanadesikan (2012). M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1969) describes its phonemic accuracy and Gnanadesikan (2012) draws attention to its representation of moras (syllable weight).

4 Lexicon

4.1 Structure of the lexicon

Traditionally, Dhivehi has been credited with three lexical categories (parts of speech): **naṁ** ‘noun’, **masdaru** ‘verbal noun’, and **akuru** ‘particle’ (the latter used to describe a variety of grammatical function words and morphemes). Nowadays Dhivehi lexicography recognizes eight categories: **naṁ** ‘noun’, **kaṁ** ‘verb’, **masdaru** ‘verbal noun’, **naṁ-ituru** ‘adjective’, **kaṁ-ituru** ‘adverb’, **ituru** ‘modifier’ [lit. ‘additional’], **akuru** ‘particle’, and **naṁ-ituru-naṁ** ‘adjectival noun’. The verbal noun, or **masdaru**, is usually used as the citation form of the verb, with the result that only seven parts of speech receive headwords in the national dictionary (*Dhivehi Basfoiy [Dhivehi Dictionary]* 2011).

At first glance, the original division into three categories seems remarkably accurate: impressionistically, Dhivehi appears to be made up entirely of nouns and verbs with the occasional small grammatical word thrown in. This is one way in which Dhivehi resembles the neighboring Dravidian languages, which originally contained only nouns and verbs (Steever 1998: 19). In Dhivehi, nouns and adjectives are not always distinguishable; nouns are the source of most Dhivehi postpositions; and nouns fill the role of complementizers. Most adverbs are derived from nouns or adjectives. Verbs, meanwhile, do the work of relativizing, being the heads of relative participial clauses. Closer inspection does, however, reveal more categories.

In this work the main Dhivehi lexical categories are considered to be nouns, verbs (including modals and auxiliaries), pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and determiners (including demonstratives and numeric and non-numeric quantifiers). Additionally, there are miscellaneous conjunctions, degree modifiers, interjections, and particles. Verbal nouns have both noun-like and verb-like properties, and will be discussed as appropriate in both classes. Of the various lexical classes, only those of nouns and adjectives (and adverbs derived from them) may be considered open, in the sense that words may be created or borrowed in these categories. The other classes, including verbs, are closed. This means that new verbs must be created as noun- or adjective-verb compounds rather than as outright new verbs.

Nouns and verbs inflect, while inflection in the other categories is minimal or non-existent. The citation form of a noun is the definite singular direct form (see Chapter 5). The citation form of a verb is for the purposes of this grammar (following Reynolds 2003 and Maniku 2000) the present progressive, and is therefore glossed as a present-tense verb ending in -s (see Chapter 8).

4.2 Sources of the lexicon

4.2.1 Indo-Aryan vocabulary

As an Indo-Aryan language, Dhivehi shares many cognates with other Indo-Aryan languages. These are most evident in comparison with Sinhala, Dhivehi's closest relative and near neighbor. However, Maldivian culture, being Muslim, does not look to Sanskrit as its classical language (as Hindu cultures do), nor does it look to Pali as Sinhala does (under the influence of Buddhism). As a consequence, many learned words that tend to be very similar across South Asian languages (including the Dravidian languages, which have borrowed heavily from Sanskrit) are not found in Dhivehi. By contrast, such words tend to be Persian or Arabic in origin, as discussed further below. This gives the Dhivehi lexicon more similarity to that of Urdu than that of Hindi or other majority Hindu Indo-Aryan languages of North India.

The number names in Table 4.1 illustrate how native Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Dhivehi compares to the closely related Sinhala (Chandralal 2010: 58–59) and to the more distantly related Hindi (Snell and Weightman 1989: 222). Evident in the table is the correspondence between Dhivehi /f/ and other Indo-Aryan /p/ (compare ފަސ **fas** 'five' with *pas* and *pāc*), the correspondence between Dhivehi and Sinhala /h/ followed by a vowel and other Indo-Aryan /s/, /c/, or /ch/ (compare ހަ **ha** 'six' and *hayə* with *chah*, and ހަތް **haṭ** 'seven' and *hat* with *sāt*). When no vowel follows, Hindi /c/¹ corresponds to Dhivehi and Sinhala /s/, as at the end of Hindi *pāc* versus Dhivehi ފަސ **fas** 'five' and Sinhala *pas*. In these cases the Hindi examples contain the original Indo-Aryan consonants and Dhivehi has undergone sound changes, some of which it has shared with Sinhala.

Most consonants are prohibited in syllable-final position in Dhivehi, hence the final /u/ on ހަތަރު **hataru** 'four' as compared to Hindi *cār*. Long vowels in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi often correspond to short vowels in Dhivehi. Original Indo-Aryan long vowels have been lost in Dhivehi, while new long vowels have been formed by coalescence after the loss of certain intervocalic consonants.

The Dhivehi number names given in Table 4.1 are “combining forms”, which are the forms used when the word modifies a noun. When the number names are used as nouns they are given the indefinite suffix ފަން **-ek** (see Section 6.6). Similarly, the Sinhala forms given here are also the combining forms of the number names.

Another important difference between Dhivehi and Sinhala on the one hand, and other Indo-Aryan languages on the other, is that Dhivehi and Sinhala do not have aspirated consonants. Thus in addition to the kinds of correspondences in Table 4.1, Dhivehi ބަސް **bas** 'language' corresponds to Hindi *bhāṣā*, and Dhivehi ތަން **taṅ** 'place' corresponds to Hindi *than*.

¹ The /c/ refers to a palato-alveolar affricate, and /ch/ to its aspirated counterpart.

	Dhivehi	Sinhala	Hindi
one	އެކު ek̤	ekə	ek
two	ދެ de	de	do
three	ତିନି tiñ	tun	tīn
four	ހަތަރު hataru	hatərə	cār
five	ފަސް fas	pas	pāc
six	ހަ ha	hayə	chah
seven	ހަތް haṭ	hat	sāt
eight	އާރު aṣ̣	aṭ	āṭ
nine	ނުވާ nuva	nawə, namə	nau
ten	ދިހަ diha	daha	das

Table 4.1: Number names compared

4.2.2 Dravidian influence

Maloney (1980) identifies a number of words in Dhivehi that he considers to be of Dravidian (specifically proto-Tamil/Malayalam) origin, suggesting to him that the original inhabitants of the Maldives spoke a Dravidian language, which then left its mark on the language of the early Indo-Aryan speaking settlers. Not only certain words but also the noun-verb structure of the lexicon, certain syntactic patterns (such as using participial clauses for relative clauses), and phonological patterns (such as the lack of distinctive aspiration and a simple syllable structure) suggest strong Dravidian influence on the formation of Dhivehi. On the other hand, C.H.B. Reynolds considers that “Dravidian languages in fact seem to have made surprisingly little impact” (Reynolds 1978: 157), and Gair (1998 [1985]) expresses cautions regarding overstating the Dravidian influence on Sinhala phonology, which apply to Dhivehi as well. The precise extent of Dravidian influence on Dhivehi is thus unclear (see Cain 2000b for a summary of the question). A few commonly occurring words that are clearly Dravidian in origin are ބެނުމު **bēnum̐** ‘wanted/needed’, related to Tamil *vēṇḍum*, which has the same meaning; ޅެނި **uḷenī** ‘be, live’, from Tamil *uḷ-*, ‘exist’; and ފަލާމު **fālam̐** ‘jetty’, from Tamil *pālam*, ‘bridge’ (Reynolds 2003).

4.2.3 Loanwords from Arabic, Persian, Urdu

As the Maldives has been Muslim for many centuries, the culture looks to Arabic as a major influencing language. Many words from Arabic have been borrowed into Dhivehi. These include words in the area of religion, education, and government, such as **guruān** ‘Qur’an’, and **rais-ul-jumhūriyyā** ‘president of the republic’. Medieval Arabic and Persian traders plying the waters of the Indian Ocean also brought words related to seafaring and shipping (Maniku 2000: vi). Personal names are nowadays Arabic as well, such as **aḥmadu** ‘Ahmed’, **muhammadu** ‘Mohamed’, and **mariyam** ‘Mariyam’. Allah, the name of God, is always written in Arabic: الله. It is given its own keystroke, SHIFT-F, on a Windows phonetic Dhivehi keyboard. Personal names that contain *Allah* switch scripts in the middle: الله **abdu-allah** ‘Abdullah’.

It is also the case that Maldivians who want to further their religious education have tended to learn Urdu, the most widespread language of Muslim populations in neighboring India and Pakistan (Maniku 2000: vii-viii). Thus there are many Urdu words in Dhivehi, particularly in the educated vocabulary. Many of these words are ultimately of Persian or Arabic (often via Persian) origin. Such words often have multiple spellings, with and without dotted Thaana letters (shown in Table 3.6) to identify the original Urdu/Persian/Arabic spelling. In general, most words that include dotted Thaana are of Urdu, Persian, and/or Arabic origin (although English words often contain **sheenu** or **zhaa**).² Prescriptively, only spellings with all the dots present or those with no dots are considered correct. However, the use of dots is inconsistent in practice, even within a word. Thus the word for ‘truth’ may be spelled **haqīqat**, **haqīqat**, or **hagīgat**.

There are also some words in Dhivehi of specifically Hindi origin, although the distinction between Hindi and Urdu is not always relevant in nonreligious contexts. Other languages from the Indian mainland have also made the occasional contribution to the Dhivehi lexicon (Maniku 2000: viii).

4.2.4 Other sources

A few words of Portuguese, Dutch, and Malay origin also exist in Dhivehi. Examples are **alamāri** ‘cupboard’ (from Portuguese *armário*), **sulufu** ‘sloop’ (from Dutch *sloop*), and **kiris** ‘dagger’ (from Malay *kris*). There are also some English words in Dhivehi that predate the modernization of the country that began in the second half of the twentieth century and ushered in copious English borrowings. These

² It is important to note in this context, however, that although **paviyani** has a dot, it is not part of the dotted Thaana series, but of regular Thaana (Table 3.3).

words have generally been adapted to fit Dhivehi phonological patterns, and the original English word may not be obvious. **މަނަވަރު** *manavaru* ‘military ship’ (from English *man o’ war*) is an example of such a loanword (Maniku 2000: vii–viii).

4.2.5 Modern loanwords from English

All Maldivian schoolchildren are nowadays educated primarily in English, as those of the social elite have been for several decades. Not surprisingly, Dhivehi has accepted many loanwords from English. These include technology-related words, but many others too. In some cases it is hard to tell whether the use of a particular English word represents the use of a loanword or a temporary switch into English on the part of a bilingual speaker. A more Dhivehi-ized spelling (with the addition of epenthetic **u** to break up consonant clusters, and the absence of empty **gaafu** and **raa**, whose use is described in Section 3.3) makes it likely that a writer is simply using a Dhivehi word that has been borrowed from English and does not particularly mean to be writing in English at that point. Certain other uses of English words are clearly meant to be in the English language. For example, the names of government ministries and most government posts (other than the presidency) are English, such as **ސޯޔިސާތު ޖަނަރަލް ސްޓޭޓް މިނިސްޓާރް ފޯ ފޯރިން ޔެފެއެޒް** *stēṭ minisṭār foṛ foriṇ efeāz* ‘state minister for foreign affairs’. As mentioned in Section 3.3, words with *sukun* on the initial consonant of a word and words with multiple, word-initial, or word-final retroflex stops tend to be English, due to the mapping of English /t/ and /d/ onto Dhivehi **ṭ** and **ḍ**.

4.3 The honorific system

Not all words in Dhivehi may be used in addressing or referring to just any person. There are generally considered to be three levels of speech, whose use depends on who one is talking about or to. The highest status individuals receive high honorifics, which make up a high level of speech known as **އެމްމަތް ބާސް** *emme-māt bas* ‘most noble speech’ or **އަދަދަޖަތުމް** *āde-vaḍaigatuṁ* ‘yes-come/go [in high honorifics]’. High but not highest status individuals receive mid-level honorifics, known as **މާތް ބާސް** *māt-bas* ‘noble speech’ or **ލަބްބާ ދޫރުވުމް** *labba-duruvuṁ* ‘yes-come/go [in mid-level honorifics]’. Common people are addressed or referred to in **އަދަޖަތު ބާސް** *ādaige bas* ‘common language’.

What it means to “receive honorifics” is that certain words are used when such a person is spoken about or to. Some aspects of the system, such as first-person pronouns, words for ‘yes’, and the question particles, are used if one is speaking *to* a high-status person. Other aspects of the system are used when speaking *about* such a person, whether to their face in second-person reference or by third-person reference. The most visible expression of this part of the system is in the verbs. Verbs receive

special honorific morphology, and there are also some specific verbs that are inherently honorific, regardless of morphology. The morphology of possessed nouns also expresses the honorific system. The speaker's own status is never referenced, except in one sense: speaking to a person who receives honorifics requires a deferential first-person pronoun regardless of one's own status. Thus verbs with first-person subjects will never be honorific, and nouns referring to one's own possessions do not take honorific morphology.

Historically, the three speech levels reflected a division of society into three parts: the ^{ބެފުލުނު} **bēfuluñ** or high nobility at the top, the ^{ބެކަލުނު} **bēkaluñ** or minor nobility in the middle, and the commoners at the bottom. As Fritz describes it, the historical system of honorifics was a rigid one, without the flexibility, common to many honorific systems, to express intimacy versus social distance or to show respect for non-class-related characteristics such as age (Fritz 2002: 14). The use of honorifics reflected the status of the addressee or referent only, with no reference to the speaker's status. Thus the ^{ބެފުލުނު} **bēfuluñ** 'high nobility' spoke to each other in ^{އެމްމަބްބާސް} **emme-māb bas** 'most noble speech' as well as having those of lower status address them at that speech level.

Nowadays, however, the different speech levels are used to express respect for a person's status, whether it be acquired by birth or by profession. It is still the case, however, that the use of honorifics does not imply a difference in status between the speaker and the addressee or referent. Rather, it gives respect to the addressee or referent regardless of the speaker's status. Speakers report that they use honorifics to show respect for older people or for their parents. Strangers may be addressed in ^{މާތް-ބާސް} **māb-bas** 'noble speech' rather than plain speech in order not to give offense. Higher speech levels are also used to give a communication an official or important air. Formal workplaces of educated people, such as government offices and university departments, are environments for using ^{އެމްމަބްބާސް} **emme-māb bas** 'most noble speech', although the same colleagues may be addressed in plain speech outside of work if they are friends.

While it is generally considered that Dhivehi contains three speech levels (two honorific and one plain) as described in the preceding paragraphs, some speakers point out that the situation is not quite so simple. The highest speech level has a special subcategory for God. Prophets, particularly the prophet Mohammed, may also marginally be considered to have their own subcategory of the highest speech level. There are also words that adults only use when speaking to small children. Some speakers would add slang and vulgarities as two further socially restricted forms of speech.

Aspects of the honorific system are discussed further in Section 5.8, Section 6.2.1, Section 6.2.2, Section 8.1.2, Section 9.1.3, Section 9.3 and Section 11.2.1.2.

4.4 Word spacing in Dhivehi

Written Dhivehi may present the learner with a challenge in its treatment of word spacing. Generally speaking, the rules regarding word spacing are less strictly enforced than they are in English, and what is spelled as one word in one text may be spelled as two in another, or even elsewhere in the same document or even the same sentence. One place where this often happens is between a verb and the previous word, where there may or may not be a space. Thus **މަސާކްކަފް ފުލުނު** **masakkaḥ-kuraṇi** ‘does work’ and its spaced equivalent, **މަސާކްކަފް ފުލުނު** **masakkaḥ kuraṇi**, are found with roughly equal numbers in a corpus search (the hyphen in the Romanization shows the location of the word boundary in the absence of a space). Another place where spacing is frequently absent is between demonstratives and/or numeric quantifiers and the nouns they modify, as in **މި ތިން ފުލުނު** **mi-tiṇ-kulhum̐teriṇ** ‘these three athletes’. Also, in many cases short grammatical words (“particles”) are written as affixes to either the previous word or the following word. On the other hand, bound suffixes are written as separate words if they follow numerals and sometimes under other circumstances as well, such as after obviously foreign words.

4.5 Lexicographical Works

While a number of phrase books and short glossary-style dictionaries exist for Dhivehi, the only two published scholarly works in English that are devoted to the lexicon of Dhivehi are Maniku (2000) and Reynolds (2003). The etymological focus of Maniku (2000) means that the selection of words is far from exhaustive. Modern loanwords and many of the simple words of Dhivehi (such as **މަދު** **adi** ‘and, also’ and **ނުވަތަ** **nuvata** ‘or’) are not given. Reynolds (2003) is a very careful, scholarly work of utmost value to a scholar or student of Dhivehi. Unfortunately, it is now somewhat out of date (the fieldwork for it was done in 1967); its formatting also takes some getting used to.

5 Nouns and Noun Morphology

Dhivehi nouns comprise a large, open class whose members inflect for number, definiteness, and case. The citation form of a noun is the singular definite direct form; this is usually the bare stem form, while other inflections are expressed by the addition of suffixes. Dhivehi nouns fall into two classes: human and nonhuman (for these purposes, nonhuman beings that are endowed with rationality, such as angels, djinn, or gods, would be considered human). Noun class membership determines which plural marking a noun receives and which cases it can appear in. It also influences definiteness inflection, in that some human nouns take a definite suffix rather than having the bare stem be definite. The traditional grammatical category of gender, in terms of masculine and feminine, does not apply to Dhivehi. Although there are some words (such as ފަންނަ **anhen** ‘female’) that refer specifically to biological gender, gender as a grammatical category controlling agreement or determining inflectional class does not exist in the language. Personal names and kinship terms (see Section 5.4) are in some senses a distinct category of noun with some properties in common with personal pronouns (discussed in Section 6.2). Loanword nouns take the same inflectional morphology as other nouns.

5.1 Plural formation

Dhivehi nouns may be inflected for plural number, as shown in Table 5.1. Nonhuman nouns other than boats take the suffix ފަތް **-tak**. If the plurality of a nonhuman noun is clear from context (for example, if a number is mentioned), the plural suffix is omitted; however, there are some nouns which are typically not inflected for plurality in English but which are in Dhivehi, such as ފަސަބް ފަސަބް **masakkaṭ** ‘work’, which has the plural ފަސަބް ފަސަބް **masakkaṭtak** ‘(various instances of) work’. There are other words that often occur with plural meaning but usually without plural marking, such as ނަޓިޖާ **natijā** ‘result(s)’ and ގަވާއިދު **gavāidu** ‘rule(s)’, presumably because things like results and rules tend to occur in collective groups.¹ Plural marking is sometimes used on such words, however.

As also shown in Table 5.1, nouns referring to boats often, but not always, take a special plural, ފަހަރު **-faharu**, as in ނާފަހަރު **nā-faharu** ‘sailing ships’ or ފަތިއުމަތި ފަތިއުމަތި **matin-dā bōṭu-faharu** ‘airplanes’ [lit. aloft-going boats]. (All vessels, whether watercraft or aircraft, belong to the semantic category of ބޮޑު **bōṭu** ‘boat’.)

Sometimes a noun may be *reduplicated* (i.e., doubled) to give a distributive plural meaning, which roughly translates as ‘various’ and focuses on multiple instanti-

¹ Reynolds (2003) glosses such words with plural English words, but they do occur with singular meaning as well.

actions of a category, rather than on a coherent group with multiple members. A few nouns often display this reduplication, whereas most nouns do not or do so only rarely. Examples of commonly reduplicated nouns are **kaṁkaṁ** ‘(various) actions’, **goṭgoṭ** ‘(various) ways’, and **raṣṣaṣ** ‘(various) islands’. In most cases, the distributive plural reduplication and the normal, collective plural suffix do not appear together on a word, but **kaṁ** ‘action’ is an exception. Not only can its stem reduplicate, but its plural suffix can also reduplicate, yielding the options **kaṁtak** (very frequent), **kaṁkaṁtak** (rare), and even **kaṁkaṁtak** (rare), all with the meaning ‘(various) actions’.

Human nouns take the plural suffix **-ṇ**, which, unlike the nonhuman plural suffix, is obligatory even when the plurality is clear from context. The human category includes institutions made up of humans, so that the plural of **fulus** ‘police (officer)’ is **fuluhun** ‘the police’ (with the application of s-lenition, as described in Section 3.6.1). When an institution performs an action, it is the humans that make up that institution that are performing the action, and so the noun will appear in the human plural at such times. Thus when the government (**sarukāru**) makes a decision, it is referred to in the human plural, **sarukāruṇ** ‘the government.PL’. The human plural has the allomorphs **-ṇ**, occurring after /u/ and usually /i/; **-iṇ**, occurring after other vowels; and **-uṇ**, occurring after a consonant.² Occasionally a noun will take both the human and the nonhuman plural marking. This is particularly true of **mihā** ‘person’ (from the stem **miš**), which forms the plurals **mīstakuṇ** ‘humanity, all people’ and **mīhuṇtak** ‘groups of people, a large number of people’, which both exist beside the regularly formed (but vague) human plural **mīhuṇ** ‘people’. Animals occasionally take the “human” plural, but this is not considered correct unless they are the subject of a story and are being given human characteristics.

Personal names, kinship terms, and first- and second-person pronouns (for pronouns, see Section 6.2) take the plural suffix **-meṇ**. This type of plural, known as the associative (as opposed to the collective) plural conveys the meaning of ‘and other associated persons’.³

² It is not at all clear whether the allomorphy is best seen as occurring in the plural suffix or in the stem. Arguably the distinction is meaningless. I discuss it as suffix allomorphy here because the suffixes are the present focus. However, in cases when such allomorphy creates a long vowel, as in **divehiṇ** ‘Maldivians’, it is impossible to place a visual morpheme divider such as a hyphen between the two portions of the vowel, either in the Thaana orthography or in a Romanization system using macrons for long vowels. Therefore, in the examples glossed morpheme by morpheme in later chapters, the morpheme-dividing hyphen is placed after an allomorphic vowel that may be considered either to end the stem or to begin the suffix.

³ For more on the linguistics of associative plurals, see e.g., Moravcsik (2003).

The plural suffixes are summarized in Table 5.1. The allomorphs of the human plural are shown in Table 5.2. In addition to those shown in the table, a “fancy” literary style uses the *-in* allomorph after a final /i/ as well, resulting in a long vowel in plurals such as ^{ދިވެހިން} **divehiñ** ‘Maldivians’.

	Nonhuman nouns	Boats	Human nouns	Names or kinship terms
Plural suffix	^{ތަކ} -tak	^{ފަހަރު} -faharu	^{ނު} -ñ	^{މީހުން} -meñ
Example	^{މާގުތަކ} magu-tak ‘roads’	^{ނާފަހަރު} nā-faharu ‘sailing ships’	^{ކުޑިނު} kudi-ñ ‘children’	^{މާއުމުނު} maumūnu-meñ ‘Maumoon and his group’

Table 5.1: Plural suffixes

	After i or u	After other vowels	After consonant
Allomorph	^{ނު} -ñ	^{އިން} -in	^{ން} -un
Example	^{ދިވެހިން} divehi-n ‘Maldivians’	^{ތަމަޞްސަރު} tamaḷa-in ‘Tamils’	^{މަދުނު} zuvān-un ‘young people’

Table 5.2: Human plurals

5.2 Definiteness inflection

Nouns are also inflected along a three-point scale of *definiteness* (I follow here the analysis of Cain and Gair 2000: 18). The *definite* form is usually unmarked, as in ^{ރެފްރީ} **refrī** ‘the referee’. Some nouns in the human class, however, take a definite suffix ^{އެ} -ā in the singular, as in ^{މިހާ} **mihā** ‘the person’, from ^{މިސް} **mis** ‘person’. The *indefinite* inflection is expressed with ^{އެކް} -ek. This affix historically derives from the Dhivehi word for ‘one’ (Cain and Gair 2000: 18), but is suffixed to the noun, while numeric quantifiers precede the noun: compare ^{ރެފްރީއެކް} **refriek** ‘a referee’ with ^{އެކް} **ek**

refri ‘one referee’ (note that the space between the number name and the noun may or may not be present).

In addition to the definite and indefinite forms is the *unspecified* inflection, expressed with **-aku**. This carries the meaning of ‘some or other’, or in negative contexts, ‘any’: **refriaku** ‘some referee (or other), any referee.’ The indefinite and unspecified forms are not distinguished from each other in all the noun cases, as discussed further in Section 5.3.

The human definite, the indefinite, and the unspecified suffixes are all vowel initial, and as such they trigger the gemination and palatalization process after /i/ (described in Section 3.6.4) when the last consonant of the stem is an eligible consonant, yielding forms such as **kujjā** ‘the child’, from **kudi** ‘small’. After ineligible consonants a **y** glide is often inserted, as in **veriyā** ‘the leader’.

The use of definiteness inflection is independent of number inflection in nonhuman nouns. Both singular and plural nonhuman nouns may take **-ek** or **-aku**, as in **massalatakek** ‘(some) problems’ or **qaumutakaku** ‘(any/some or other) nations’. In human nouns, as mentioned, an **-ā** suffix is sometimes used to create a definite singular, while in plural human nouns the indefinite and unspecified inflections are not used (except as negative concord, for which see Section 12.7).

In accordance with the general morphophonological rule laid out in Section 3.6.2, nouns that end in /u/ drop it before the addition of an indefinite or unspecified suffix: **badalu** ‘(the) change’ becomes indefinite **badalek** ‘a change’. The definiteness inflections are summed up in Table 5.3.

	Nonhuman noun	Human noun
Definite	∅	-ā or ∅
Indefinite	-ek	-ek (singular only)
Unspecified	-aku	-aku (singular only)

Table 5.3: Definiteness inflection

5.3 Cases

There are six major *cases* in Dhivehi: direct, genitive, dative, locative, ablative/instrumental, and sociative. There are also various strategies used in vocative expressions. Arguably, one may also identify a marginal oblique case, which adds ޖ - **-u** to consonant-final nouns, used in certain adverbial and compounding contexts (see Section 5.6.2, Section 7.1.1 and Section 7.2), and which Jonathon Lum (p.c.) suggests may be an archaic locative.

The *direct* case, which is unmarked, is used for (most) subjects and for direct objects. Thus Dhivehi does not distinguish nominative and accusative case, but uses a single direct case for both the subject and the direct object of a sentence. The other cases are marked with suffixes, as shown in Table 5.4.

5.3.1 Case suffixes

The Dhivehi noun cases are illustrated in Table 5.4.

The *genitive*, or possessive, case, marked with ޖ - **-ge**, is used for nouns which are in a possessor relationship to other nouns. It corresponds to English *-’s* or *of*. Several postpositions (derived from nouns) also assign genitive case to their objects (see Section 7.1).

The *dative* case, marked with ގަވ - **-aḡ**, is used to indicate indirect objects, goals, and beneficiaries; it is usually translatable into English as *‘to’* or sometimes *‘for’*. Note that if the noun stem ends in a consonant, the initial vowel of the suffix will be written on that consonant and not on the *alifu* shown in the previous sentence. As discussed in Chapter 7, the dative case ending can also be used to derive adverbs, and certain postpositions assign dative case. The subjects of certain verbs of experience, of involuntary verbs, and of statements of ability are in the dative case, in which case it is more appropriately translated as *‘by’* or as nothing (see Section 12.4.5).

The *locative* case is indicated with the suffix ގަވ - **-gai** in standard written Dhivehi, which is ގަވ - **-ga** or sometimes ގަވ **gā** in spoken Dhivehi and in the most informal styles of writing. The locative case marks nouns that refer to location, and can be translated as *‘in’*, *‘on’*, or *‘at’*.

The *ablative/instrumental* case conveys either source or means; it is also a means of deriving adverbs (see Section 7.2). Its suffix is ގަވ - **-ḡ**. The ablative/instrumental can be translated as *‘from’* or *‘by’* or *‘with’* in its instrumental sense of *‘by means of’* (but not in the sense of *‘accompanied by’*). Because the ablative/instrumental suffix looks just like the human plural suffix, certain forms may be ambiguous, such as ސަރުކާރުނު **sarukāruṇ**, which can mean *‘from the government’* or *‘the government (seen as a collection of humans)’*. This ambiguity only arises with nouns that may be either human or nonhuman depending on the context of their use, as human nouns do not take the ablative/instrumental case.

Case	Suffix	Example: nonhuman	Example: human
Direct	∅	bas 'language'	kokko 'younger sibling'
Genitive	-ge	bahuge 'of the language'	kokkoge 'younger sibling's'
Dative	-aṣ	bahaṣ 'to/for the language'	kokko-aṣ 'to/for younger sibling'
Locative	-gai	bahugai 'in the language'	—
Ablative/ instrumental	-ñ	bahuñ 'from/by means of the language'	—
Sociative	-ā	bahā 'with the language'	kokko-ā 'with younger sibling'

Table 5.4: Noun cases

Sociative case, which is marked with ᑭᑭᑦ -**ā** or ᑭᑭᑦ -**āi**, conveys the sense of ‘accompanied by’ or ‘in relation to’ (glossed in the tables in this chapter as ‘with’ for simplicity). A number of postpositions assign sociative case (see Section 7.1). In modern prescriptive usage, ᑭᑭᑦ -**ā** is the sociative case ending, and ᑭᑭᑦ -**āi** is a co-ordinating particle meaning ‘and’ (see Section 10.2), but in practice the two are not always distinguished, and the sociative case ending is often spelled ᑭᑭᑦ -**āi**.

Not all cases can occur on human nouns. The locative and ablative/instrumental cases do not apply directly to human nouns, personal names, or pronouns. To apply an ablative/instrumental or locative meaning to a human noun, another (nonhuman) word is used: usually **farātuñ** ‘side.ABL’ or **atuñ** ‘hand.ABL’ for ablatives and **body.LOC** for locatives. Thus ‘from father’ is expressed as **bappage farātuñ** ‘from father’s side’ or **bappage atuñ** ‘from father’s hand’, and ‘on father’ is **bappage gaigai** ‘on/at father’s body’. While human nouns may occur in the dative, they are generally avoided in certain contexts.

Thus one usually speaks or goes *near* father (ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **bappage gātugai** ‘near father’ or ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **bappa kairi** ‘near father’) rather than directly *to* father.⁴

Case marking and the two levels of definiteness marking do not freely co-occur. Both the indefinite and unspecified forms of the noun may occur in the direct case. In other cases the indefinite and the unspecified are generally not distinguished. In the genitive and locative cases, the indefinite may occur but not usually the unspecified (though it may in certain words, such as ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **mīhakuge** ‘someone’s’, where the unspecified form has a special function as an indefinite pronoun). In the dative, ablative/instrumental, and sociative cases, only the unspecified inflection is used. The various possible case- and definiteness-marked forms of the word ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **gaumu** ‘nation’ are listed in Table 5.5 to illustrate.

Table 5.5: Case and definiteness marking

	Indefinite	Unspecified
Direct	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumek ‘a nation’	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumaku ‘some/any nation’
Genitive	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumekge ‘of a nation’	—
Locative	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumekgai ‘in a nation’	—
Dative	—	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumakaṣ ‘to a/some nation’
Ablative/Instrumental	—	ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ gaumakuṇ ‘from a/some nation’

⁴ Prescriptively, ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **gāt** ‘near’ is used when describing nearness to humans, while ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **kairi** (or ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **kairi**) means ‘near’ to a nonhuman, but in the colloquial spoken language ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ **kairi** is used for humans as well.

Table 5.5: (continued)

	Indefinite	Unspecified
Sociative	—	ގަވާއިދު gaumakā ‘with a/some nation’

Number, definiteness, and case marking may all occur on the same noun, in the order stem-number-definiteness-case, as in ފަންނަވަންތަ ފަންނަވަންތަ **masakkaṭ-tak-ek-ge** ‘of some (various) work’.

5.3.2 Case suffix allomorphy

A number of morphophonological processes are at work in the addition of case suffixes, as summarized in Table 5.6, Table 5.7 and Table 5.8. For these purposes, the case suffixes may be divided into three classes: those that start with ɟ **g** (the genitive and locative), the ablative/instrumental ɲ -**ṇ**, and those that start with a vowel (the dative and sociative). It should be noted, however, that foreign words that have not become phonologically assimilated into Dhivehi are optionally immune to some of the processes laid out here and may take a default form of the case suffix.

5.3.2.1 Genitive and locative case suffixes

The genitive and locative case suffixes both start with ɟ **g** and undergo the same morphophonological processes. If the stem ends in a consonant other than “inflectional /n/” or the /k/ of the indefinite suffix, ɹ **u** is inserted: direct case ފޮތ **foṭ** ‘book’ becomes genitive ފޮތު **foṭuge** ‘of the book’, and ގޮތ **goṭ** ‘manner’ becomes locative ގޮތު **gotugai** ‘in the manner’, for example. The rule of s-lenition described in Section 3.6.1 applies, so that the genitive of ބަސް **bas** ‘language’ is ބަހު **bahuge** ‘of the language’.

If the noun is in the indefinite form (ending in ގަ -**ek**, with an underlying final velar), then the /u/-insertion does not occur: ބަދަލު **badaleḱge** ‘of a change’. Other instances of final ɹ **k** do trigger the insertion of ɹ **u**: ފޮތް **foṭtak** ‘books’ becomes genitive ފޮތް **foṭtakuge** ‘of the books’ and ދަރިވަރު **massalatak** ‘cases’ becomes locative ދަރިވަރު **massalatakugai** ‘in the cases’.

If the stem ends in /n/ and it is a pronoun or a plural (from the ނ -**ṇ** of the human plural or the ރ -**meṇ** associative plural), the ɹ **u** is not inserted: ފުލުހު **fuluhun** ‘the police’ inflects as ފުލުހު **fuluhunge** ‘of the police’, and the genitive of ފުލުހު **fuluhun**

ahareñ ‘I’ is **ahareñge** ‘my’ (this is noted as “inflectional /n/” in Table 5.6).⁵ Foreign words and personal names (which are generally of foreign origin) with final **-ñ**, or with other final consonants for that matter, often do not take the /u/, but the behavior here is not consistent. For example, both **maumünge** ‘Maumoon’s’ and **maumünuge** may be found as the genitive of the personal name **maumün** ‘Maumoon’, which may itself also appear as **maumūnu**. But a stem that ends in /n/ that is not a pronoun, a plural, or a foreign word will trigger insertion of **u** like other consonant-final stems. Thus singular **din** ‘religion’ forms its genitive as **dinuge** ‘of religion’. When orthographic final **ñ** is underlyingly /m/, it always takes the epenthetic **u** (and changes its spelling to **m**), so that **kurumuge** ‘of doing’ is the genitive of **kurum** ‘doing’.

If the stem ends in a vowel, the outcome depends on what the vowel is. If the vowel is /u/, the suffix is simply added, with no change of stem. So, for example, **daturu** ‘journey’ becomes locative **daturugai** ‘on the journey’. If the vowel is long or a diphthong, and is also long or a diphthong underlyingly, then the suffix is also added without any accompanying stem changes, so that **jalsā** ‘assembly’ becomes locative **jalsāgai** ‘in the assembly’. However, in the native vocabulary most final long vowels alternate with short vowel + /l/, so that direct case **bō** ‘head’, for example, corresponds to genitive **boluge** ‘of the head’. It can be said in these instances that the underlying form of the stem ends in the consonant /l/. Most instances of final /ū/, /ō/ and /ā/ (the latter also sometimes pronounced, and often spelled, /au/) behave in this way, but only if the word is in the native vocabulary: **jalsā** ‘assembly’ is a loanword.

Table 5.6: Case suffix allomorphy with consonant-final stems

Case	Inflectional /n/	Indefinite -ek	Other consonant
Genitive	ئ- -ge	ئ- -ge	ئ- -uge
example	ئۇلارنىڭ kudīñge ‘children’s’	ئۇلارنىڭ mihekge ‘a person’s’	ئۇلارنىڭ kuşuge ‘crime’s’
Locative	—	ئ- -gai	ئ- -ugai

⁵ The final /n/ of suffixes and pronouns, or “inflectional n,” is also singled out as a category by the n-gemination described in Section 3.6.5.

Table 5.6: (continued)

Case	Inflectional /n/	Indefinite -ek	Other consonant
example		نیزامے گای nizāmekgai 'in a system'	گوتو گای gotugai 'in the manner'
Ablative/ instrumental	—	—	وٹھ -uṭṭh
example			ماساککاتوٹھ masakkatuṭṭh 'with the work'
Dative	نہ -naṣ [with inflectional n-gemination]	—	اٹھ -aṭṭh
example	کودینہاٹھ kudiṭṭhnaṣ 'to the children'		ماساککاتاٹھ masakkataṭṭh 'to the work'
Sociative	نہ -nā [with inflectional n-gemination]	—	ہا -ā
example	کودینہا kudiṭṭhna 'with the children'		ہاقتاکا haqqutakā 'with rights'

If the stem-final vowel is /a/, then /i/ is inserted before the genitive or locative suffix: **mi-massala** 'this case' becomes **mi-massalaigai** 'in this case'. If the vowel is /e/ or /i/, the vowel is lengthened: **rājje** 'country' becomes genitive **rājjege** 'of the country', and **taketi** 'things' becomes genitive **taketige** 'of the things'. However, kinship terms, personal names, and personal pronouns take simple **-ge** and not **-ige**. Examples are **bappa** 'father', with genitive **bappage** 'father's'; **mūsa** 'Moosa', with genitive **mūsage** 'Moosa's'; and **ēna** 'he/she', with genitive **ēnage** 'his/her'. Another exception is **iyye** 'yesterday', which has the genitive **iyyege** 'yesterday's'.

5.3.2.2 Ablative/instrumental case suffix

As for the ablative/instrumental suffix $\text{--}\dot{\text{n}}$, it also triggers the epenthesis of u after a consonant-final stem: $\text{sk\ddot{u}ltak}$ ‘schools’ has the ablative form $\text{sk\ddot{u}ltakun}$ ‘from the schools’. All nouns that end in /n/ are included in the process of taking the epenthetic /u/ in the ablative/instrumental, unlike in the genitive, as the “inflectional /n/” that applies to pronouns, human plurals, and associative plurals does not arise in ablative/instrumental contexts, which must be nonhuman. When added to vowel-final stems, the ablative/instrumental suffix is $\text{--}\dot{\text{n}}$ after /u/ and /i/, but $\text{--}\dot{\text{in}}$ after other vowels. Thus $\text{m\ddot{a}le}$ ‘Malé’ (the capital of the Maldives) has the ablative/instrumental $\text{m\ddot{a}le\dot{\text{in}}}$ ‘from Male’, but sababu ‘reason’ has the ablative/instrumental sababun ‘because’ [lit. ‘from the reason’]. As in the genitive and locative, underlying /l/ resurfaces again: $\text{l\ddot{o}}$ ‘eye’ becomes $\text{l\ddot{o}lun}$ ‘with/from the eye(s)’ (note that it is impossible to separate the /l/ and the suffix in the Thaana examples given in Table 5.7 and Table 5.8; the hyphen marking the beginning of the suffix is therefore placed before the $\text{--}\dot{\text{l}}$).

5.3.2.3 Dative and sociative case suffixes

The dative and sociative case suffixes begin with vowels. In these cases, stems that end in /u/ drop the /u/: سَوْرُكَارُ **sarukāru** ‘government’ becomes dative سَوْرُكَارَ **sarukāraṣ** ‘to the government’. After a stem that ends in a vowel other than /u/, a glide /y/ may be inserted, so that the dative هِنَا **ēna** ‘he/she’ of may be either هِنَا **ēnayaṣ** ‘to him/her’ or هِنَا **ēna-aṣ**, though the latter is more common in writing. In the written language, when the glide is not used there is an increased possibility that a space will intervene between the stem and the suffix, especially in proper names and foreign words that end in long vowels. Otherwise, the regular morphophonological processes discussed in Section 3.6—gemination of inflectional /n/, s-lenition, and gemination and palatalization in /i/-final stems—are at work.

Case	Long V (native)	-a	-e	-i	-u	Other
Genitive	جڳھ - l-uge	جڳھ - i-ge	جڳھ - e-ge	جڳھ - i-ge	جڳھ - ge	جڳھ - ge
example	جڳھ ufaluge 'of happiness'	جڳھ massalaige 'of the case'	جڳھ mālēge 'of Malé'	جڳھ foṣṣige 'of the box'	جڳھ qaumuge 'of the nation'	جڳھ jalsāge 'of the assembly'
Locative	جڳھ - l-ugai	جڳھ - i-gai	جڳھ - e-gai	جڳھ - i-gai	جڳھ - gai	جڳھ - gai
example	جڳھ bolugai 'on the head'	جڳھ massalaigai 'in the case'	جڳھ mālēgai 'in Malé'	جڳھ foṣṣigai 'in the box'	جڳھ qaumugai 'in the nation'	جڳھ jalsāgai 'in the assembly'
	جڳھ bō 'head'					

Table 5.7: Case suffix allomorphy with vowel-final stems: genitive and locative

Case	Long V (native)	-a	-e	-i	-u	Other
Abl./inst.						
example	ufalun̄ 'with happiness'	massalain 'from the case'	māleṯ 'from Malé'	foṣṯin̄ 'from the box'	qaumāṯ 'from the nation'	jalsāṯ 'from the assembly'
Dative						
	ufalāṣ	massala-aṣ or -yaṣ	māle-aṣ or -yaṣ	foṣṯ-aṣ or -yaṣ	qaumāṯ [with loss of stem /u/]	jalsā-aṣ or -yaṣ
Sociative						
example	bolāṣ 'to the head'	massala-aṣ 'for the case'	māle-aṣ 'to Malé'	foṣṯaṣ 'to the box'	qaumāṣ 'to the nation'	jalsā-aṣ 'to the assembly'
	ufalā	massala-ā 'with the case'	māle-ā 'with Malé'	foṣṯā 'with the box'	qaumā 'with the nation'	jalsā-ā 'with the assembly'

Table 5.8: Case suffix allomorphy with vowel-final stems: ablative/instrumental, dative, and sociative

5.3.3 Vocative forms

A marginal seventh case is the vocative—marginal in that it is not clear that it is a single case rather than a set of strategies used to create vocative forms. Vocative forms are used in direct address with personal names and certain (usually human) nouns, such as kinship terms. In some instances it is marked with ڤ- **-ā**, such as in ڤڤ **vagā** ‘thief!’, from direct case ڤڤ **vagu** ‘thief’. However, in many vocative uses, the vocative is merely a lengthening of the final segment of the uninflected noun. Thus the vocative of ڤڤ **mamma** ‘mother’ is ڤڤ **mammā**, and the vocative of ڤڤ **bēbe** ‘older brother’ is ڤڤ **bēbē**. This strategy is mostly followed with vowels, but may also be used with names ending in sibilants, such as ڤڤ **Anas**, so that the /s/ is lengthened in its pronunciation. There is no spelling of this lengthened sibilant vocative form. Vocatives of sibilant-final names may also be formed by adding ڤ- **-ū**. Names ending in a nonsibilant consonant may take ڤ- **-ā** or ڤ- **-ū**; the latter will be used to avoid creating a female name when addressing a male when such pairs of names exist. Thus one might address ڤڤ **Ibrāhim** as ڤڤ **Ibrāhimā**, but would use ڤڤ **Nasīmū** to avoid ڤڤ **Nasīmā** as the vocative of ڤڤ **Nasīm**, because ڤڤ **Nasīmā** is a female name.

5.4 Names and kinship terms

Dhivehi personal names and kinterms are in some ways different from other nouns. They take the associative plural ڤڤ **-meñ**, like personal pronouns. They take the ڤ- **-ge** rather than the ڤڤ **-ige** or ڤڤ **-ege** form of the genitive, even when they end in /a/, /i/, or /e/.

Maldivians are taught that it is rude to say ڤڤ **kalē** ‘you’, in other words, that it is rude to directly address someone using the second-person pronoun. Using a person’s name or a kinship term is one way to avoid the use of ڤڤ **kalē** ‘you’. A few Maldivians also avoid saying ڤڤ **ahareñ** ‘I’ and will use their own name (or the kinship term describing their relationship to their interlocutor) to refer to themselves. For more on the use and non-use of pronouns, see Section 6.2.

5.4.1 Personal names

Dhivehi personal names, being inherently definite, do not take definiteness inflection except as negative concord (for which see Section 12.7). In this sense they are like pronouns (presented in Section 6.2). Dhivehi names have traditionally tended to be Arabic and are now required by law to be so. Thus names are often spelled with dotted Thaana or with *sukun* on consonants other than the five traditional ones (described in Section

3.5.1). However, more native-style spellings, without dots and with epenthetic *u* in place of *sukun*, are also used when writing names in Thaana.

Traditionally most Maldivians have had two names, neither of which is a family surname and either of which may be used as the person's primary given name. As a very general tendency, the first name is more likely to be a common, traditional Arabic one, such as *muḥammadu* 'Mohamed', and therefore an individual is more likely to be called by the second name. However, this is a tendency only, and many people are called by their first names. Some people have used their father's name as a quasi-surname, while the nobility often used *maniku* (for minor nobility) or *ḍiḍi* (for high nobility of royal descent—also used as a surname in the south of the country) after their personal names. A person could also be awarded a title, which would go after their names.

Traditionally, house names served some of the functions of surnames. Houses and other buildings in the Maldives receive names (rather than—or nowadays in addition to—street numbers). These names may be in any language and are chosen for their pleasant associations, such as *finifeṁmā-ge* 'Rose House' and *braiṭṣaṭ* 'Bright Star'. In general, a house name will continue even with a change of occupants, though there is no law against a change of house name. A business operating in a building will have its own name, but the building itself will have another, more permanent one. A person's house name, placed before the personal name, has traditionally served the function of a surname if more information is needed as to the identity of an individual. A person who achieved national fame might instead be known by his or her island name, placed before the personal name. It is still the case that a house name or island name (or, in the case of Malé, the name of the city ward) will often be included when giving someone's name in a context where they are not known, for instance in a news report, or when more than one person has the same name.

For individuals now being born, an Arabic name is required, as is some part of the father's name as a patronymic. Thus one might have one personal name followed by both of one's father's names, or two personal names followed by one of the father's names. Sometimes the father's name is preceded by *bin* 'son' or *bintu* 'daughter', but this is optional.

In certain formal written contexts, a man's name will be preceded by the title *al-fāḍil* 'Mr', and a woman's by *al-fāḍilā* 'Ms', but these titles are not used in speech.

Beyond officially registered names, Maldivians use a lot of nicknames. In some cases a person will use a more English pronunciation of his or her Arabic official name, as when someone named *ādam* prefers to be called *Adam* (with English pronunciation). There are also some conventional nicknames that go with certain names, such as *ayya* 'Ayya' for *ali* 'Ali', *ammaḍē* for *ahmadu* 'Ahmed', *mōḍ* for *muḥammadu* 'Mohamed', or *āntu* for *āminatu* 'Aminath'. Other nicknames are more idiosyncratic, such as *anni* 'Anni' for former

President Mohamed Nasheed. Any one individual may have multiple nicknames, used among different circles of acquaintance. Because individuals with the same name are relatively common, nicknames and house names are useful means of disambiguation.

5.4.2 Kinship terms

Kinship terms in Dhivehi are often used in place of or in conjunction with personal names. The use of **bēbe** ‘older brother’ and **datta** ‘older sister’ or **daita** ‘aunt’ is a means of showing respect, both to a variety of relatives and to nonrelatives such as family friends. The system of kinship terms differs somewhat from island to island or even from family to family. That shown in Table 5.9 is representative of Malé. The gender of older relatives is marked in the Dhivehi kin system, but that of younger relatives is not. The gender of a younger relative can be made explicit by the use of **firiheñ** ‘male’ or **añheñ** ‘female’ before the basic kinship term. Some kinship terms are both descriptive terms and the terms used in actual address (with added vocative vowel length). Other terms are descriptive but not used in address, analogous to the way *father* is rarely used in direct address in modern American English but *dad* is. There are more distinctions made in description than there are in address.

Both the descriptive term and the term of address (in the vocative form; the non-vocatives have short vowels) are shown in Table 5.9, with the specific types of older siblings broken out in Table 5.10 (but note that the terms for the second- and third-eldest brothers and sisters may be used in the reverse order in some families). The element **doñ** in a kinship term is a respectful term that may mean ‘eldest’ or ‘step’, depending on the relationship (compare ‘eldest sister’ and ‘eldest brother’ in Table 5.10 to ‘stepfather’ and ‘stepmother’ in Table 5.11).

Table 5.9: Kinship terms

	Relationship	Term of address
Mother	މާމްމާ mamma	މާމްމާ mammā
Father	ބާބާ bappa	ބާބާ bappā
Child	ކަރިފުލު darifuḷu or ކުއްޖާ kujjā	ކަރިފުލާ darifuḷā
Grandmother	މާމާ māma	މާމާ māmā
Grandfather	ކާފާ kāfa	ކާފާ kāfā

Table 5.9: (continued)

	Relationship	Term of address
Grandchild (of a woman)	މާމާ ދަރިފުލު māma darifuḷu	ދަރިފުލާ darifuḷā
Grandchild (of a man)	ކާފާ ދަރިފުލު kāfa darifuḷu	ދަރިފުލާ darifuḷā
Great grandmother	މުނިމާމާ munimāma	މުނިމާމާ munimāmā
Great grandfather	މުނިކާފާ munikāfa	މުނިކާފާ munikāfā
Great-great grandmother	ހުވަދުމާމާ hūrumāma	ހުވަދުމާމާ hūrumāmā
Great-great grandfather	ހުވަދުކާފާ hūrukāfa	ހުވަދުކާފާ hūrukāfā
Older sister (generic)	ދަތްता datta	ދަތްता dattā
Older brother (generic)	ބެބެ bēbe	ބެބެ bēbē
Younger sibling	ކޮކްކޮ kokko	ކޮކްކޮ kokkō
Aunt	ބޮޅުމަތް boḷudaita	ބޮޅުމަތް boḷudaitā for eldest, otherwise ބޮޅުމަތް kuḍadaitā or name plus ދަތްता daitā
Uncle	ބޮޅުމަތް boḷubēbe	ބޮޅުމަތް boḷubēbē for eldest, otherwise ބޮޅުމަތް kuḍabēbē or name plus ބެބެ bēbē
Wife	އާމްބިމިހާ aṁbimiḥā	—
Husband	ފިރިމިހާ firimiḥā	—

In-laws and step-relatives, where these have specific terms, are shown in Table 5.11. Because of the Maldives' traditional high rates of divorce and remarriage (Maloney 1980: 343) and increasing rates of polygyny in recent years, step-relatives and half siblings are common. Generally, half siblings and step-siblings are referred to (and addressed) as siblings, that is, as ދަތްता **datta** 'older sister', ބެބެ **bēbe** 'older brother', or ކޮކްކޮ **kokko** 'younger sibling'. Step-siblings can be more precisely described as, for example, ދަތްता ދަރިފުލު **doṁmammage darifuḷu** 'stepmother's child'. Half-siblings

	Relationship	Term of address
Eldest sister	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ doṇḍatta	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ doṇtā
Second-eldest sister	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tittatta	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tittā
Third-eldest sister	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tuttatta	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tuttā
Fourth- (or more) eldest sister	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ kuḍadatta	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ kuḍaattā
Eldest brother	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ doṇbēbe	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ doṇbē
Second-eldest brother	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tittibēbe	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tittibē
Third-eldest brother	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tuttubēbe	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ tuttubē
Fourth- (or more) eldest brother	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ kuḍabēbe	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ kuḍabē

Table 5.10: Older siblings

can be more precisely described as being the child of one's mother or of one's father, as in ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **ek-bañḍu kokko** 'lit. one-womb younger sibling' and ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **ek-bafā datta** 'one-father older sister'. A full sibling can be described with ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **ek-bañḍu-ek-bafā** 'full sibling' lit. 'one womb one father', as in ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **ek-bañḍu-ek-bafā kokko** 'full younger sibling'. (The term ᐃᐃᐃ **bafā** is a word for 'father' that is used in certain descriptive contexts but is not considered polite in direct address. Similarly, ᐃᐃᐃ **mai** is a term for 'mother' that is used in compounds, though in certain constructions such as this one ᐃᐃᐃᐃ **bañḍu** 'belly, womb' is used instead.)

One usually describes a cousin in the same terms as a sibling, but a cousin can be more precisely described as being related to one's self as ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **de-beinge-de-dari** 'cousin' lit. 'two children of two siblings', as in ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ **de-beinge-de-dari bēbe** 'older male cousin'.

Groups of related people are referred to with special terms that take the human plural ᐃᐃᐃ -**ñ**. Such terms also tend to have numeric quantifiers describing the total number of people involved. Representative kin groups are shown in Table 5.12. Note that while ᐃᐃᐃᐃ **bein** appears to mean 'older brothers', it in fact means 'group of sib-

	Relationship	Term of address
Mother-in-law	مادر دربره maidaita	ماما mamma lit. ‘mother’
Father-in-law	بابا فایه bafaibe	بابا bappa lit. ‘father’
Daughter-in-law	دختر دربره ḷi.darifuḷu	دختر دربره darifuḷā lit. ‘child’
Son-in-law	دختر دربره dambī.darifuḷu	دختر دربره darifuḷā lit. ‘child’
Sister-in-law (brother’s wife or wife’s sister)	فاهری fahari (pronounced as fahairi)	فاهری faharī (pronounced as fahairi)
Brother-in-law (sister’s husband or spouse’s brother)	لیان ḷiyanu	لیان ḷiyanā
Stepmother	دختر دربره doṇmamma	دختر دربره dattā lit. ‘older sister’
Stepfather	دختر دربره donbappa	بیبه bēbē lit. ‘older brother’

Table 5.11: In-laws and step-relatives

lings’. Thus the term **tiñ bein** means ‘group of three siblings’ and not just ‘three brothers’. The generic term for family, **ailā**, is a loanword from Arabic.

Relationships that are not covered by specific terms are described in terms of those that are, with appropriate genitive markers. Other people’s relatives are usually described with the person’s name and a genitive, as in **alige mamma** ‘Ali’s mother’. However, in some uses a genitive marker is not required to show family relationship, particularly in direct address. In such uses, **ali mamma** means ‘Ali’s mother’ and is a polite way to speak to one’s friend Ali’s mother. The genitive may also be dropped in informal mention of a person, but this is considered casual, not correct, speech.

ﻋﻮﻭﺩﻩ **e-vāhaka** ‘that speech’ to refer to something that has been said), although the proforms ﻋﻨﺎ **ēnā** ‘he/she (that person)’ and ﻣﻨﺎ **mīnā** ‘he/she (this person)’ are generally used instead of singular ﻣﻴﻬﺎ **mīhā** ‘person’ with a demonstrative. The plural noun ﻋﻮﺭﻭﺩ **verīñ**, which usually means ‘leaders’ or ‘owners’ is used with demonstratives or numeric quantifiers to mean informally ‘folks, a group of people’, so that ﻋﻮﺭﻭﺩﻩ **e-verīñ** means ‘them/those folks’ and ﺗﺮﻭﺭﻭﺭﻩ **de-verīñ** means ‘two people’. Just as there is no single generic noun in Dhivehi, there is also no single generic pronoun meaning ‘it’. For more on demonstratives, pronouns, and pronoun substitutes, see Chapter 6.

5.6 Compounding and derivational noun morphology

In terms of derivational morphology, Dhivehi uses a number of compounding and suffixing strategies to create new nouns. It is not always clear where the division is between a suffix and a commonly used final element of compounds. However, I consider elements that are also words and which retain the meaning that they have as free-standing words to be compounding elements, and ones that either have no free-standing existence or a different meaning in their free-standing existence to be suffixes.

5.6.1 Collective compounds

Dhivehi often uses compounding to form collective nouns. One such type of compound joins two representative members of a class to form a collective noun that refers to the whole class. Examples include ﻏﻪﺭﻯ ﺑﺎﻛﺎﺭﻯ **geri-bakari** ‘cow-sheep’ for ‘livestock’, ﻛﺎﻧﺪﻯ ﺑﺎﺩﻯ **kañḍi-baḍi** ‘sword-gun’ for ‘weapons’, and ﺭﺍﻧﺌﻲ ﺭﻳﻬﻲ **rañ-rihi** ‘gold-silver’ for ‘precious metals’.

A second type of collective compound noun is derived through the compounding of rhyming or reduplicated words. This method is used for more abstract nouns than the first type. Both elements of this type of compound may be independent words in the language, or only one of them may be. Examples include ﺩﺍﺗﯘﺭﯗ ﻓﺎﺗﯘﺭﯗ **daturu-faturu** ‘travel, journeys of all kinds’ (based on ﺩﺍﺗﯘﺭﯗ **daturu** ‘journey’ and ﻓﺎﺗﯘﺭﯗ **faturu** ‘trip, especially for pleasure’), ﺁﺩﺍ ﻛﺎﺩﺍ **āda-kāda** ‘customs, tradition’ (based on ﺁﺩﺍ **āda** ‘custom, usage’), and ﻫﻪḍḍﻲ ﻓﻪḍḍﻲ **hēḍi-fēḍi** ‘skills’ (based on ﻓﻪḍḍﻲ **fēḍi** ‘skill’). These are reminiscent of the echo-word formations of many South Asian languages, in which a word is reduplicated and the onset of the second instance is replaced with a default segment or sequence (Masica 1991: 80–81). Echo-word reduplication adds a meaning of ‘and similar things’. However, unlike in other South Asian languages, the use of these rhyming doublets in Dhivehi is not productive and the onset of the second member is not predictable. I therefore call these “rhyming doublets” rather than echo words.

A third type of collective compound noun is used to describe classes of living things. These compounds consist of two or three similar elements that are related to the word for a single member of the class in a semi-regular way, as laid out in Table 5.13. When there are three elements, the first is the word for the single member, the second can usually be formed from a reduplication of the first with the addition of the sociative marker or the coordinating conjunctive particle (both of which may be ڙ -*ā*), and the third repeats the second but with vowel changes.⁶ The instance of two members, for the collective nouns for ‘insects’ in the first row of the table, behaves similarly to the three-member ones but without the first member. The collective noun for ‘foliage’ is somewhat irregular, and the collective noun for ‘birds’ is quite irregular in that it uses the two-element collective for ‘insects’ in its formation; this appears to be based on the fact that the term ސުފި *sūfi* ‘insect, small creature’ once included all egg-laying animals (*Dhivehi Basfoiy* [*Dhivehi Dictionary*] 2011). The classes laid out in Table 5.13 are the major classes of living things that are relevant in the Maldivian environment, there being very few mammal species there.

⁶ The morphophonemic rules of /s/-lenition and of the alternation of /l/ with long vowels or [yo] are at work here. See Section 3.6 for these rules.

Single member	Class
سُفِي sūfi ‘insect, small creature’	سُفِي سُفِي sūfā-sūfi ‘insects and small creatures as a class/of all kinds’
دُونِي dūni ‘bird’	دُونِي سُفِي سُفِي dūni-sūfā-sūfi ‘birds as a class/of all kinds’
مَس mas ‘fish’	مَس مَهَا مَهِي mas-mahā-mehi ‘fish as a class/of all kinds’
مَا mā ‘flower’	مَا مَلَا مَلِي mā-melā-meli ‘flowers as a class/of all kinds’
غَس gas ‘tree, stemmed plant’	غَس غَاهَا غَهِي gas-gahā-gehi ‘trees and stemmed plants as a class/of all kinds’
فَات faṭ ‘leaf’	فَات پِلَا وِلِي faṭ-pilā-veli ‘foliage of all kinds’
وَيَو veyo ‘vine, creeper’	وَيَو وِلَا وِلِي veyo-velā-veli ‘vines, creepers of all kinds’

Table 5.13: Collective nouns for classes of living things

5.6.2 Other compounds

Certain compounding elements are used to derive nouns with more-or-less consistent semantic properties. For example, nouns that refer to measurable properties are derived from other nouns or adjectives through compounding with **min** ‘amount’. Thus from **hūnu** ‘hot’ is derived **hūnumin** ‘temperature’, **baru** ‘heavy’ yields **barumin** ‘weight’, and **us** ‘high’ yields **usmin** ‘height’.

Individual pieces or collective units of things that might otherwise occur as unbounded masses are described with **gañḍu** ‘piece, unit’. Thus **feñ** is ‘water’, but **feñgañḍu** is ‘pond’ or ‘lake’. **haru** is ‘shelf’, but **harugañḍu** is a set of shelves, such as a ladder, bookshelf, or rack. The compounding element **us**

gañḍu ‘piece, unit’ may also be added for pejorative effect. Historically this is the origin of the first-person deferential pronoun **aḷugañḍu** ‘I’ lit. ‘slave piece’.

The compounding element **mati** ‘top, surface’ is another common one and is used to refer to surfaces. Distinguishing the top or surface of something from its entirety is something that Dhivehi does regularly. For example, it is the road surfaces, or **magu-mati**, not just the roads (**magu**) themselves, which are described as paved with asphalt in Malé but covered in white coral sand in the rural (i.e., non-Malé) islands. When one goes to the beach one should be careful to specify **atiri-mati** ‘beach surface’, as without it **atiriyaṣṣu dani** means ‘goes to the bathroom’, due to the historical use of beaches as latrines. Analogously to **mati** ‘top, surface’, the compounding element **tere** ‘inside, interior’ refers to the insides of structures, as in **gē-tere** ‘house interior’. It is the **gē-tere** that is cleaned when one is housecleaning, for example, not the house itself.

The compounding element **fati** ‘row, strip’ is used to describe things that are made of many smaller pieces aligned together. Thus a broom made out of the midribs of palm leaves (known as **iloṣi**) is **iloṣi-fati**, and a garland of flowers is **mā-fati**, from **mā** ‘flower’. **koḷu** means ‘bit’, ‘end’ or ‘piece’, and is used very much like ‘some’ or ‘a bit of’ in English. An example is **duvas-koḷu** ‘day bit’, meaning ‘some days’ or ‘a bit of time’.

When noun-noun compounds are made, it is common for a consonant-final first element to acquire a final **-u**. Thus **ruku-rā** ‘palm toddy’ is formed from **ruk** ‘palm (tree)’, and **atu-masakkaṭ** ‘handcraft, skilled craft’ from **aṭ** ‘hand’. However, this is by no means a hard-and-fast rule. The aforementioned examples coexist with others that do not show the extra **-u**, such as **aṭ-bai** ‘hand of cards’ lit. ‘hand part’. In general, the common compounding elements discussed in the above paragraphs do not trigger the addition of the **-u**.

When names of islands enter into compound or collocated expressions as the first element, those ending in **i** or **e** lengthen the vowel, as in **alifuṣi** **bōṭyāḍ** ‘Alifushi boatyard’ and **mālē mihek** ‘a Malé person’. Given the relational meaning of these noun-noun collocations, the place names in such collocations are interpreted as reduced genitives by speakers. In compounding with the final element **atoḷu** ‘atoll’, the proper names of atolls that end in **ū** shorten their final vowel. Thus the name **aḍḍū** ‘Addu’ becomes **aḍḍu-atoḷu** ‘Addu Atoll’ and **huvadū** ‘Huvadhu’ becomes **huvadhu-atoḷu** ‘Huvadhu Atoll’. This length alternation is not generally reflected in the conventional Romanization of these place names, Addu being conventionally Romanized with a short vowel and Huvadhu usually with a long one.

5.6.3 Derivational morphology

Abstract nouns may be derived from adjectives or from other nouns with the addition of the suffix **-kaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸), which is analogous in function to English ‘-ness’, ‘-hood’, or ‘-ship’. Examples are **raskaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘reign, kingship’, from **ras** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) ‘king’, and **ritikaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘beauty’, from **riti** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) ‘beautiful’. This derivational process is very common, and Dhivehi lexicography even recognizes nouns derived from adjectives by this means as comprising their own lexical category, that of adjectival noun. The suffix **-kaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) is identical in form to the generic noun **kaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) ‘action, fact’, which also acts as a complementizer (as in Section 13.2). Understanding the range of uses of **kaṁ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) presents a challenge to the learner.

There is no general agentive suffix in Dhivehi analogous to English *-er* or *-or* in words like *plumber* or *actor*. Many terms describing professions or habitual actions are therefore phrasal, such as **pāṇ fihā mihā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘baker’, lit. ‘bread-baking person’. However, nouns referring to people who possess a particular quality (as opposed to doing a certain thing) may be derived from adjectives referring to those qualities by the addition of the human definite singular **-ā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) or the human plural **-ṇ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸), so that, for example, **ehiteri** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘helpful’ becomes **ehiteriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘helper, assistant’ or **ehiteriṇ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) ‘helpers, assistants’. While the English gloss of these words focuses on the people’s deeds, the Dhivehi words are constructed to reflect their properties (e.g., of helpfulness).

Similarly, the word **veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) (the human definite form, **veriṇ** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) in the plural form), which means ‘leader’, ‘ruler’, ‘owner’, or ‘one who is in control’ may be used as a compounding element with a noun to derive certain terms describing professions. Thus **atoḷu-veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) means ‘atoll chief’, **ilmu-veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) means ‘scholar’ (lit. ‘owner/controller of knowledge’), and **mas-veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) means ‘fisherman’ (lit. ‘owner/controller of fish’). Because **veri** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) can be either an adjectival suffix or a noun, there is little (or perhaps no) difference between this compounding with **veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) and the derivation of human nouns from adjectives by the addition of **-ā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) described in the previous paragraph other than the fact that a free-standing noun **veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) exists and a free-standing ***teriyā**⁷ (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸) does not. Thus this can be considered either compounding (with the noun **veriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸)) or derivational morphology (with **veri** (𐋲𐋷𐋸) and **-ā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸)).

7 In ***teriyā** (𐋲𐋷𐋸𐋷𐋸), the asterisk indicates that the word quoted is not attested in Dhivehi and is therefore incorrect.

Many words, however, may be used as either adjectives or nouns depending on their context. For example, **tafātu** may be either ‘difference’ or ‘different’, and **avas** may be either ‘speed’ or ‘fast’.⁸

The derivation of verbal nouns is discussed in Section 8.3.3.3. Verbal nouns are derived from verbs but take nominal inflection. Their function corresponds to English gerunds and (in the dative case) certain uses of infinitives, as well as of nouns referring to actions. Thus the verbal noun **gellum** ‘lose.VN’ could translate as ‘losing’, ‘to lose’ (if in the dative case), or ‘loss’.

5.7 Children’s terms

Some nouns take special suffixes in speech directed to small children. These suffixes include **tūtu**, used for insects and reptiles, as in **hōnu-tūtu** ‘gecko’, and **kalō**, used for mammals and birds, as in **mākanā-kalō** ‘heron’.

5.8 Honorific suffixes

Nouns that refer to the possessions, kin, or characteristics of the highest-status individuals, those who receive **emme-māḥ bas** ‘most noble speech’ (such as scholars, doctors, executives, and members of parliament), participate in the system of honorific marking introduced in Section 4.3. Two suffixes are used to make high-level honorifics, **-fulu** and **-koḷu**. The suffix **-fulu** is used to mark nouns referring to a high-status person’s body parts, kin, personal characteristics (e.g., name, age, health), statements, actions, mental processes, etc. These are what are considered *inalienable* possessions in that they are not things that can be dissociated from the person who has them.

The suffix **-koḷu** is used to mark nouns referring to a high-status person’s goods, i.e., their *alienable* possessions. This morpheme is identical in form to the **koḷu** mentioned in Section 5.6.2 as meaning ‘bit (of)’ or ‘some’. Both derive from the word meaning ‘side’, ‘end’, or ‘bit’, but the uses are different. As an honorific the morpheme adds no meaning other than to mark the honorific status of the possessed noun, but presumably the origin of this use is in a distancing effect—in other words, one did not make direct reference to a high-status person’s possessions but to the *side* of their possessions.

Despite the alienable/inalienable division between the two honorific suffixes, there is in practice some overlap in the use of the two suffixes: for example, both

⁸ One may be tempted to say that adjectives and nouns form a single lexical class in Dhivehi, and indeed they have many things in common. However, adjectives may be used as predicators (like verbs), and nouns may not. See Section 12.1.1.

musāra-koḷu and **musāra-fulu** are attested as honorifics of **musāra** ‘salary’. In the exceptional case of the word **dari-fulu** ‘child’, the **-fulu** suffix has lost its honorific meaning and is required in order to avoid rudeness when speaking about a child of any social status.

The names of Islamic prophets take the suffix **-gefānu**, as in **muḥammadu-gefānu** ‘(the prophet) Mohamed’. This helps to disambiguate reference to prophets from reference to the many other people with the same name. The title of ‘king’, **ras**, also takes the **-gefānu** suffix. A similar honorific suffix, **-fānu**, appears on certain awarded titles, such as **kilegefānu** ‘a person who has been granted the highest rank, that of kilege’ (also **kilagefānu**), **kalēgefānu** ‘a traditional title awarded to commoners’, and **takurufānu** ‘a title awarded to minor nobility’. The title **manikufānu** was traditionally awarded only to those already in the high nobility, but is nowadays used in addressing or referring to especially high-ranking individuals such as the president or an ambassador (see Section 6.2).

Plural suffixes and case endings follow honorific marking, as in **ādamu-gefānu-ge** ‘(the Patriarch) Adam’s’ or **naṁ-fulu-tak** ‘names (hon.)’.

6 Demonstratives, Pro-forms, and Noun Modifiers

This chapter turns to a number of lexical categories that are associated with or modify nouns: demonstratives, pronouns and other proforms, quantifiers, and adjectives. While adjectives differ from the other categories in this chapter in being an open class of content words, they display very little morphology and are therefore included in this chapter with more minor categories.

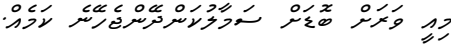
6.1 Demonstratives

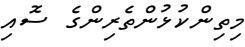
Demonstratives are function words that help to indicate which particular thing is being talked about, like *this* and *that* in English. Dhivehi has three demonstratives, which fill a variety of grammatical roles and are very frequently used. In contrast to English, which makes two-way contrasts between *this* and *that*, and *here* and *there*, Dhivehi displays three degrees of contrast in its demonstratives: near me (the speaker), near you (the audience), and elsewhere (near neither the speaker nor the hearer). ހ **mi** ‘here/by me’ is used to indicate proximity to the speaker. ތ **ti** or ތ **tiya** ‘by you’ indicates proximity to the hearer. Of these two audience-proximate forms, ތ **ti** is far more common in speech, while ތ **tiya** is often used in writing. The demonstrative ފ **e** ‘there/over there’ indicates a place that is neither near the speaker nor the hearer, often out of sight. These words may be used as demonstrative pronouns (as in example 6.1), as demonstrative determiners (modifying a noun, as in example 6.2), or as adverbs (modifying a verb, as in example 6.3, which also contains examples of the demonstrative used as a determiner). To these three well-known types of demonstratives, Diessel (1999) adds a fourth category, the identificational type (used in presentational sentences like *This is John*), which differs in some languages from the demonstratives used in descriptions like 6.1. The identificational use is also filled by the same set of three lexical items in Dhivehi.

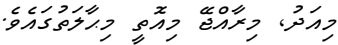
In the glosses in the following examples, the demonstratives are labeled as DEM1 for the ‘near speaker’ (first person) demonstrative.¹ Also used in this grammar are DEM2 for the ‘near addressee’ (second person) demonstrative, and the DEM3 for the ‘other’ (third person) demonstrative. Demonstratives are usually written as prefixes when they modify a noun or verb.²

1 In 6.3, the word spelled ރާއްޖެ **rājje** is more usually spelled ރާއްޖާ **rājje** ‘country’.

2 Because demonstratives are highly dependent on their context, this chapter contains a number of phrasal or sentential examples in advance of the chapters later in this grammar which present the various relevant syntactic constructions. Especially relevant here are Chapter 10 on noun phrases and Chapter 12 on basic sentences. Examples that appear to be

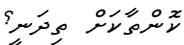
- (6.1) 
mi=ī *varaṣ* *boḍaṣ* *samālu.kam̐_dēñ_jehēne*
DEM1=COP very greatly attention_give.INF_need.to.FUT.PTCP
kam-ek̐
 matter-INDF
 ‘**This** is a matter that will have to be given great attention.’ (MI)

- (6.2) 
mi=tiñ_kuḷum̐teri-ñ-ge *soi*
DEM1=three_athlete-PL-GEN signature
 ‘the signatures of **these** three athletes’ (MI)

- (6.3) 
miadu *mi*=rājje *mi*=oti
 today **DEM1**=country **DEM1**=be.lying.PRS.FOC
mi=h̐ālatu-ga=eve
DEM1=situation.LOC=END
 ‘Today **this** country is **here** in **this** situation.’ (HD)

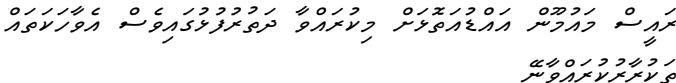
Dhivehi demonstratives do not display number inflection, so that, for example, *mi* may mean either ‘this’ or ‘these’. Like English *this* and *that*, *mi* ‘this’ and *e* ‘that’ are also used to refer to things that have been mentioned in the discourse, regardless of their physical presence. *ti(ya)* ‘by you’ is used in conversation to refer to something one’s interlocutor has mentioned, but it is unlikely to be encountered in decontextualized written discourse such as newspaper articles.

When demonstratives are used to modify verbs they often convey the information that would otherwise be lost when subject pronouns are omitted. In other words, while the demonstrative is literally an adverb describing the *place* of an action, it is often used to convey the identity of the *doer* of the action. An example using the second-person demonstrative is shown in 6.4.

- (6.4) 
koñtāk-aṣ *ti*=danī?
 where-DAT **DEM2**=go.PRS.CONT
 ‘Where are [you] going (there by you)?’ (SC)

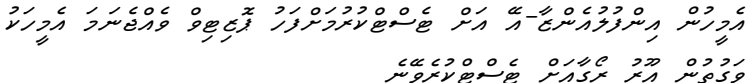
complete sentences but are in fact excerpts from a larger sentence are not given periods in the Dhivehi and are translated without initial capitals and periods in the English.

However, because literally speaking such a demonstrative only describes the place of an action, the demonstrative is not guaranteed to be of the same person as the subject, as someone other than the speaker could be doing something that the speaker would still characterize as ‘here’ due to the place or discourse salience of the action. In 6.5, for example, the subject is not the speaker and is in fact explicitly stated. Even if the subject of 6.5 were not explicitly stated, however, it would still be clear that the subject is not the speaker because the verb is honorific (see Section 8.1.2 for honorific verbs). Honorific verbs are never first person (though there are some reports of mistaken use of honorific first persons by individuals who do not fully control the honorific registers).

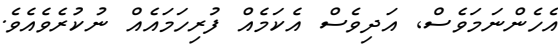
- (6.5) 
- raīs* *maumūn* *aḍḍu_atoḷ-aṣ* *mi=kuravvā*
 president Maumoon Addu_Atoll-DAT **DEM1**_do.HON.PRS.PTCP
daturu-fulu-gai=ves *e=vāhaka-taḵ* *takurāru_kuravvānē*
 trip-HON-LOC=EMPH DEM3=speech-PL repetition_do.HON.FUT.PTCP
 ‘even on the trip which President Maumoon is making **here** to Addu Atoll,
 he will repeat those speeches’ (HD)

Demonstratives that modify nouns are also used, in combination with those nouns, as ways to avoid using pronouns. This is described more in Section 6.2.

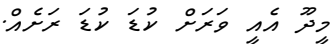
When a demonstrative modifies a noun, that noun is usually in the definite form, as opposed to the indefinite or unspecified. However, demonstratives may occur with indefinite or unspecified nouns in two types of constructions. One of those is when the nouns refer to general or hypothetical situations, as in 6.6.

- (6.6) 
- e=mih-un* *infuluenzā-ē* *aṣ* *ṭeṣṭ_kurum-aṣ_fahu* *poziṭiv*
 DEM3=person-PL influenza A DAT test_do.VN-DAT_after positive
vejje-nama *e=mih-aku* *vagutu.n* *ūru rōgā-aṣ*
 be.PRF-COND **DEM3=person-UNSP** immediately pig flu-DAT
ṭeṣṭ_kurevēne
 test_be.done.FUT.PTCP
 ‘after testing those people for influenza A, if [a test] is positive, **that**
person will immediately be tested for swine flu’ (HD)

The other situation in which a non-definite noun co-occurs with a demonstrative is when indefinite marking is used as negative concord, as in 6.7. For more on negative concord see Section 12.7.



- (6.7) 
eheñ.nama.ves adi=ves e=kam-eḳ furihama-eḳ
 nevertheless still=EMPH **DEM3=action-INDF** complete-INDF
nu=kureve=eve
NEG=be.done.PRS.3=END
 ‘Nevertheless, **that** is still **not** being fulfilled.’ (HD)

Demonstrative pronouns are used as resumptive subject pronouns when the subject of a sentence is topicalized, as in 6.8.³

- (6.8) 
midū e-ī varaṣ̣ kuḍa kuḍa raṣ-eḳ
 Meedhoo **DEM3-COP** very small small island-INDF
 ‘Meedhoo, **it’s** a very small little island.’ (SC)

6.2 Personal pronouns and pro-forms

Personal pronouns are pronouns that specify a particular speech act participant, as English *I* indicates first person (the speaker), and *you* indicates second person (the addressee). Dhivehi personal pronouns are somewhat complicated in their variety and their use. True pronouns exist for first person and second person, and there are also forms created from demonstratives joined to a bound root for third-person human singular forms (which Bhat 2004 would call *pro-forms* rather than true *pronouns* because of their inclusion of a demonstrative element). However, not all combinations of person, number, humanness, and honorific status have pronouns or even bound-root pro-forms in general use in the modern standard language. There are no actual pronouns for third-person human plural, for third-person non-human, or for second- or third-person honorific reference. Instead of pronouns, phrases consisting of a demonstrative and a noun are used, which I call *pro-phrases*.

Additionally, pronouns that do exist are often avoided. To say  **kalē** ‘you’ is considered rude in modern standard Dhivehi. A non-Malé form,  **ta** ‘you’, exists in certain non-Malé dialects and is not considered rude by speakers of the dialects that

³ Resumptive pronouns are pronouns that restate a grammatical role that has already been filled in a sentence. For example, *it* is a resumptive pronoun for *the book* in *This is the book that I don’t know who read it*. Topicalization is a means of establishing a phrase as the topic of discussion, usually by placing it at the beginning of a sentence. As Dhivehi subjects are usually first in the sentence anyway, the use of a resumptive pronoun shows that a subject is topicalized.

use it; but it has not been adopted as a substitute for **kalē** ‘you’ in the Malé standard dialect. Some speakers also avoid **ahareñ** ‘I’, though others feel the avoidance of **ahareñ** sounds coy or pretentious. Names (including one’s own), kinship terms, noun phrases beginning with demonstratives, and demonstratives used with verbs (as exemplified in 6.4) are all ways of identifying referents when a pronoun is to be avoided or does not exist in the modern standard language. The finite verb, if any, of a sentence employing pronoun avoidance will agree with the avoided pronoun rather than with a substituted noun phrase. Speakers also report that some people will use the English pronouns *you* and/or *I* in order to avoid Dhivehi pronouns—a usage that they say originated in Addu, where there was a British military base for some years in the mid-twentieth century. This usage has not become established in Malé, however.

6.2.1 First- and second-person pronouns and phrases

The first- and second-person pronouns that are most basic in the Malé dialect are shown in their various case forms in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2. Since they refer to people, first- and second-person pronouns take only the direct, genitive, dative, and sociative cases; like human nouns, they do not take the locative or ablative/instrumental case. The form of the sociative case given here is the prescriptively correct **-ā**, but **-āi** is often encountered as well. As shown in the tables, first-person pronouns and second-person true pronouns (non-demonstratives) take the suffix **-meñ** in the plural.

Speakers from Malé will use both **aharen** ‘I’ and **ma** ‘I’ for the first-person singular pronoun in plain (i.e., non-honorific) speech. Although **aharen** ‘I’ is perhaps the more usual Malé form, certain set expressions, such as **maṣakaṣ nēñgē** ‘I don’t know’, typically call for **ma**.

The deferential first person **aḷugañḍu** ‘I’ [lit. ‘slave piece’], analogous to historical English *thy/your servant*, is used when speaking to individuals who merit either mid-level or high-level honorifics. The plural form, **aḷugañḍumeñ** ‘we (hon)’, illustrates the function of the associative plural in pronouns. The speaker is being deferential when using **aḷugañḍu** and putting him- or herself down, but since the associative plural simply means ‘and others’, using the plural merely includes others in the statement; it does not put them down in any way. Thus the recipient of the honorific can be (and often is) included in **aḷugañḍumeñ** without insult.

The first-person singular pronouns display some irregularities. **ma** takes **ṣ** before vowel-initial suffixes and also has the irregular genitive **magē**, with a long vowel in the suffix. The first-person pronoun **ahareñ** has a short form **ahan-** that appears with vowel-initial suffixes: **ahareñ** ‘I’ becomes **ahannaṣ** ‘to me’ and **ahannā(i)** ‘with me’, although these short forms are not invariably used. As per the morphophonological processes described in Section

	1st person singular		1st person plural	
	Neutral	Deferential	Neutral	Deferential
Direct	اھارەن ahareñ ما ma	اڭاڭدۇ aļugañdu	اھارۇمەن ~ aharemeñ مامەن mameñ	اڭاڭدۇمەن aļugañdumeñ
Genitive	اھارەڭگە ahareñge ماڭە mage	اڭاڭدۇگە aļugañduge	اھارۇمەڭگە ~ aharemeñge مامەڭگە mameñge	اڭاڭدۇمەڭگە aļugañdumeñge
Dative	اھاڭناڭ ~ ahareñnañ ماڭاڭ maşağ	اڭاڭداڭ aļugañdağ	اھارۇمەڭناڭ aharemeñnağ مامەڭناڭ mameñnağ	اڭاڭدۇمەڭناڭ aļugañdumeñnağ
Sociative	اھاڭنا ~ ahareñnā ماڭا maşā	اڭاڭدā aļugañdā	اھارۇمەڭنا ~ aharemeñnā	اڭاڭدۇمەڭنا aļugañdumeñnā

Table 6.1: 1st person pronouns

3.6, -اھان- **ahan-** and other pronouns whose stems end in /n/ geminate the /n/ before vowel-initial case endings as well as before other vowel-initial suffixes.

As well as the standard forms shown in Table 6.1, others exist, such as the old-fashioned first-person **ahureñ** with plural **ahuremeñ**, and the non-standard **aharuñ**, which is considered by some speakers to be a contracted form of **aharumeñ** ‘we’ but used by others as a singular. There is also a special first-person pronoun, **aļu** lit. ‘slave’ (with plural **aļumeñ**), used when addressing God. This special deferential first-person pronoun is one of the elements that make

speech to and about God somewhat different from other honorific speech and constitute the highest subdivision of high-level honorifics. Yet another first-person pronoun, **alā** (with plural **alameñ**), may be used either when addressing God or when addressing one's lover in romantic poetry.

The plain second-person pronoun is shown in Table 6.2. The final vowel of the second-person pronoun **kalē** is underlyingly long rather than being formed from a short vowel plus /l/ as many other final long vowels are (see Section 3.6.3); thus it shortens before a vowel-initial suffix. It is not considered polite to use **kalē** in modern standard Dhivehi, as it is said to sound accusatory. The pronoun is thus usually avoided but will crop up when speakers are stressed or angry. Also shown in Table 6.2 is the most common demonstrative pro-phrase used in place of a second-person honorific pronoun.

In addition to the standard (but taboo) **kalē** 'you' shown in Table 6.2, speakers from some rural (i.e. non-Malé) islands use **ta** 'you', which is not taboo, as speakers of rural dialects do not share the same concerns about using second-person pronouns. It is not used in Malé, however. Speakers also recognize the pronoun **kalā**, a literary second-person form used between lovers in stories, but they do not use it in actual speech. The national dictionary (*Dhivehi Basfoiy [Dhivehi Dictionary]* 2011) lists **im̥ba** as a (non-honorific) pronoun meaning 'you', but the clearly related **iba** as an honorific second-person pronoun. However, a consultant from Malé considers the two forms to be equivalent and honorific. It is not common in Malé, outside of religious contexts. On the other hand, fieldwork by Jonathon Lum (p.c.) finds that **im̥ba** is commonly used as a non-honorific second-person pronoun in Laamu Atoll, so the difference in honorific status (and the presence or absence of the prenasalization) appears to be regionally determined. In slang young people may say **kayē**, which is not considered correct but has the advantage of not (quite) being the taboo form. Dictionaries (both Reynolds 2003 and the national *Dhivehi Basfoiy [Dhivehi Dictionary]* 2011) list the second-person pronoun **tufureñ** 'you' (and *Dhivehi Basfoiy [Dhivehi Dictionary]* 2011 gives its plural, **tufuremeñ** 'you (pl.)'), but this pronoun is no longer current in the language.

The personal pronouns constitute one area in which the Dhivehi system of honorifics is relevant. As mentioned, the deferential first-person forms display respect to the addressee by demoting the speaker. These first-person forms are historically formed from the word **alu** 'slave', but they are now simply pronouns, as the use of the pronoun/name plural **-meñ** indicates. The honorific demonstrative phrases used in place of second-person pronouns elevate the addressee. The honorific and deferential pronouns are the ones usually used in formal registers of writing.

The honorific second-person demonstrative phrases are made with the addressee-demonstrative **ti(ya)** 'by you', followed by an appropriate noun. Thus one addresses a high-status person as **ti(ya)bēfulā**, literally 'the aristocrat near you'. Similarly, one could address members of parliament as either **tiyabēfuluñ**

	2nd person singular		2nd person plural	
	Plain	Honorific	Plain	Honorific
Direct	ڪالڙي kalē	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷā, ‘you.HON’ lit. ‘the aristocrat near you’	ڪالڙي kalēmeñ	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷuñ, ‘you.HON.PL’ lit. ‘the aristocrats near you’
Genitive	ڪالڙي kalēge	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷāge	ڪالڙي kalēmeñge	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷuñge
Dative	ڪالڙي kaleaṣ	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷāaṣ	ڪالڙي kalēmeñnaṣ	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷuñnaṣ
Sociative	ڪالڙي kaleā		ڪالڙي kalēmeñnā	ڪالڙي (ٻڌڻ) ti(ya)bēfuḷuñnā

Table 6.2: 2nd person pronouns and pro-phrases

‘you aristocrats’, literally ‘the aristocrats near you’, or **maḡilihuge** **tiya membaruñ** ‘you parliament members,’ lit. ‘the parliament members near you’. Other forms of second-person address (not necessarily honorific) can also be created by adding **ti(ya)** ‘by you’ to a human noun, such as in **tiyabaimihuñ** ‘you people’, literally ‘the group of people near you’, which may be used instead of **kalēmeñ** ‘you (pl)’, particularly in religious contexts such as when addressing a congregation. Some people use **tinā** ‘you’ lit. ‘the person near you’ (by analogy with **ēnā** ‘he/she’ [lit. ‘that person’] and **minā** ‘he/she’ [lit. ‘this person’] in Section 6.2.2) to avoid **kalē** ‘you’, but this is not widespread. It is said to have originated in a Malé girls’ school and not to have spread very far beyond its students.

Not all uses of **ti(ya)** ‘by you’ create second-person reference. If **ti(ya)** is combined with a noun that is not human, the result simply refers to an object near to or belonging to the addressee.

6.2.2 Third-person pro-forms and pro-phrases

The nonhonorific human third-person singular pro-forms are **ēnā** ‘he/she (over there)’ (or **ēna**) and **minā** ‘he/she (over here)’ (or **mina**), the forms with long vowels being considered better prescriptively. The demonstratives **e** ‘there/that’ and **mi** ‘here/this’ can be detected in their composition, but the second part (the

ـنā) has no independent meaning in the modern language. There are actually no other commonly used third-person pro-forms that consist of a single word rather than a phrase, although the archaic ةـن euren ‘they’ may occasionally still be met with in some contexts. The modern human plurals ةـن e-mihuñ ‘those people’ and ةـن e-bai-mihuñ ‘that group of people’ are phrases rather than simple pronouns, as becomes obvious when a quantifier intervenes between the demonstrative and the noun, as in ةـن e-de-mihuñ ‘those two people’. Additionally, there is no word in Dhivehi that translates as (nonhuman) ‘it’. As also mentioned in Section 5.5, demonstrative phrases with generic nouns are used instead.

The third-person pro-forms and demonstrative pro-phrases with generic nouns are shown in Table 6.3, using the more typical demonstrative ة e ‘there/that’. Note that despite the spelling of ةـن eeccehi ‘they, those things’ (with a sequence of initial vowels), it is pronounced as though it were simply ةـن ēcehi (with a single long vowel). Forms with ةـن mi ‘here/this’ can also be used depending on the location or discourse salience of the referent. Forms with ةـن ti ‘that near you’ also occur with non-human nouns to indicate things that are near or associated with the listener. If ةـن ti ‘that near you’ is used with a human noun, however, the result is a pro-phrase with second-person reference, as discussed in Section 6.2.1. To refer to a person near the addressee, forms with either ةـن mi or ةـن e may be used in combination with a human noun.

The pro-phrases in Table 6.3 are formed from demonstratives combined with nouns to create a noun phrase. As noun phrases rather than pronouns, they form their plurals like other nouns (adding ةـن -ñ for humans and ةـن -tak for non-humans) instead of taking the pronominal plural ةـن -meñ. In addition to those shown in Table 6.3, there are also many other words that may be used to refer to entities or concepts that have previously been brought up in the discourse. Thus, for example, the English language might be referred to as ةـن e-bas ‘that language’ after it has been introduced as a topic.

A plain demonstrative, ةـن e ‘that’ or ةـن mi ‘this’ (or even ةـن ti ‘that by you’) can also be used instead of a more explicit pro-phrase in certain contexts where English would use ‘it’, such as with topicalization, as in 6.8.

As with first- and second-person pronouns and pro-phrases, the honorific system is relevant to third-person pro-forms and pro-phrases. Honorific pro-phrases are used to talk about people of high status. While ةـن ebēfulā ‘he/she (high hon)’ is most common, mid-level honorifics also exist, and more special honorifics are used for people with ultra-high status (such as a president or ambassador) and for prophets and God, as shown in Table 6.4. Such individuals are not referred to as ةـن ēnā ‘he/she’. The forms given for the mid-level honorifics (the first two rows of Table 6.4) appear to be in the plural, but speakers report that these are used for the singular as well. The high-level honorifics are given in the singular, but plural forms also exist (with the ةـن human plural suffix).

	Singular	Plural
Human	ܐܢܐ ēnā ~ ܐܢܐ ēna ‘he/she’	ܐܡܝܗܘܢ emihūn ‘they’ [lit. ‘those people’] ܐܒܝܡܝܗܘܢ ebalmīhūn ‘they’ [lit. ‘that group of people’] ܐܝܪܝܢ everīn ‘they’ [lit. ‘those folks’]
Movable object or animal	ܐܬܝ ēti ‘it’ [lit. ‘that thing’]	ܐܝܥܥܝܗܝ eeccehi ‘they’ [lit. ‘those things’]
Action	ܐܟܡܐ ekam ‘it’ [lit. ‘that action’]	ܐܟܡܐܟܡܐ ~ ekamkam ~ ܐܟܡܐܬܐ ~ ekamtak ~ ܐܟܡܐܬܐܬܐܬܐ ~ ekamtaktak ‘they’ [lit. ‘those actions’]
Place or immovable object	ܐܬܐ etañ ‘it’ [lit. ‘that place’]	ܐܬܐܬܐ ~ etañtañ ~ ܐܬܐܬܐܬܐ ~ etañtak ‘they’ [lit. ‘those places’]

Table 6.3: 3rd person pro-forms and pro-phrases

As also shown in Table 6.4, some of the honorific pro-phrases distinguish between male and female referents. Others do not, as the non-honorific pro-forms and pro-phrases also do not. In general, Dhivehi makes little reference to gender—not at all in its noun classes and inflectional agreement, and very little in the lexicon. In example sentences using pro-forms in this grammar, the choice of *he* or *she* in the translation line has been made for each sentence according to the identity of the individual in the context from which the sentence was taken.

As appropriate to context, the demonstrative ܐܝܢ **mi-** ‘this’ may be used instead of ܐܬܐ **e-** ‘that’. Forms with ܐܝܢ **ti(ya)-** ‘that near you’ may also be used, but if they are used with a human noun they actually indicate the second person, as described

Category of person	Demonstrative form
Minor nobility/mid-status (male)	ebēkaluñ ‘that/those gentleman/men’
Minor nobility/mid-status (female)	ekañbaluñ ‘that/those lady/ies’ ebēkañbaluñ ‘that/those lady/ies’
High nobility/high-status	ebēfuḷā ‘that aristocrat’
Highest level (male)	emanikufānu ‘that (male) excellency’
Highest level (female)	ekamanā ‘that (female) excellency’
Prophet	ekalēgefānu ‘that + honorific title (sg.)’ enabībēkalun ‘those prophet-gentlemen (pl.)’
God	ekalāñge ‘that god’ eilāhu ‘that god’

Table 6.4: 3rd person honorific pro-phrases

above in Section 6.2.1. As with the nonhonorific pro-phrases, quantifiers may intervene between the demonstrative and the noun, making them clearly phrasal: **e-de-bēfuluñ** ‘those two gentlemen’. Word spacing may or may not intervene between the parts of such phrases but often does not, since both demonstratives and numeric quantifiers tend not to have spaces after them.

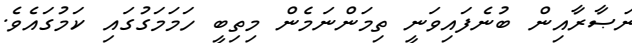
6.2.3 Logophoric and impersonal pronoun

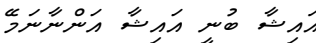
When an utterance containing a first person pronoun is quoted, the quoting speaker is not (usually) the same as the one who originally spoke it and is thus not ‘I’, the present speaker. In Dhivehi, a special pronoun, known as a *logophoric pronoun*, is often used in place of the regular first-person pronoun in such contexts. Thus if Ali says “I will come,” and Habeeb quotes him as saying that, Habeeb may refer to Ali as **timañ** ‘I, logophoric’ in his quote. Alternative forms are **timā**, **timannā**, and **timanna**. The initial **ti** is not the second-person demonstrative here.



The plural (logophoric ‘we’) is **timañmeñ**, **timāmeñ**, **timannameñ**, or **timannāmeñ**, with the pronominal plural suffix. An example of logophoric pronoun use is given in 6.9. The logophoric pronoun occurs with first-person agreement on the verb. (See Section 8.3.1 for person agreement on verbs.)

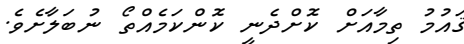
- (6.9) **maumūn amilla-aṣṣ bunī timannā 30 aharu verikan**
 Maumoon self-ADV say.PST.FOC **1.LOG** 30 year rulership
koṣ-fīm-ē
 do.CNV-PRF.1-QUOT
 ‘Maumoon himself said, “I have ruled for 30 years”.’ (HD)


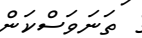
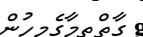
The logophoric pronoun is used both in a direct quote, marked with a quotative particle (when it would be translated as ‘I’ or ‘we’ in English) or when it is in reported speech, occurring in a complement clause marked with a complementizer (when it would be translated as ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘they’ in English), as in 6.10. However, its use is not obligatory. Regular first-person pronouns may also occur in direct quotations, as may proper names that refer to the speaker, if the speaker being quoted employs pronoun avoidance, although the quoted verb will still be in the first person. This is exemplified in 6.11. For more on quoted speech in Dhivehi, see Section 9.1.2 and Section 13.3.



- (6.10) 
naṣārā-iñ bune=fai_vanī timanna-meñ
 Christian-PL say.CNV=SUCC_be.PRS.FOC 1.LOG-PL
mi-tibi hama_magu-gai kamuga=eve
 DEM1-be.PL.PRS.FOC just_path-LOC COMP=END
 ‘The Christians have said that **they** are on the just path.’ (HD)

- (6.11) 
aishā bunī aishā annānam-ē
 Aisha say.PST.FOC Aisha come.FUT.1-QUOT
 ‘Aisha said she would come. [lit. Aisha said, ‘Aisha will come’]’ (FW1)

Another function of  **timan** is as an impersonal pronoun meaning ‘one’ or ‘one’s self’. This meaning is relatively rare, however, and not easy to elicit from speakers. Several speakers interviewed reported that  **timan** meant only ‘I’ and not ‘one’. However, the use of this pronoun with the indefinite meaning in certain decontextualized texts such as dictionary definitions shows that it does still have a certain currency. One place it may be encountered is in general pieces of advice that apply to everyone. The following corpus example contains this sense of the word.

- (6.12) 
qaumu timā-aṣ koṣ_denī kon_kamek=tō
 nation self-DAT do.CNV_give.PRS.FOC which_action=QCOMP
nu=balāṣ=eve
 NEG=look.IMP=END
 ‘Don’t look to see what the nation is doing **for you**.’ (HD)

A related word,  **timāge**, is the genitive form and may be used to mean ‘one’s own’, as in  **timāge tanavaskam** ‘one’s own prosperity’. However, it is often used simply to mean ‘related’ or ‘kin’, as in  **gāt-timāge-mihun** ‘close relatives [lit. one’s own close people]’.⁴

⁴ Speakers of Hindi may be tempted to equate  **timāge** ‘one’s own’ with the Hindi reflexive pronoun *apnaa* (Snell and Weightman 1989: 71–72). However, Dhivehi  **timāge** is more like English *one’s own*, in that it is used when the subject is generic or unspecified rather than to indicate the same person as someone who has been previously mentioned.

6.3 Reciprocals and reflexives

A reciprocal meaning is obtained by ekaku... anekaku ‘one another’. Given Dhivehi’s predilection for using noun phrases instead of pronouns, however, it is very common to include nouns, as in $\text{ek-bayaku... anek-bayaku}$ ‘one group another group’ or $\text{ek-membaraku... anek-membaraku}$ ‘one member [of parliament] another member’. An example is given in 6.13.

- (6.13) $\text{ek-bay-aku bunanī gōh-ī anek-bay-aku}$
one_group-UNSP say.PRS.FOC bad-FOC the.other_group-UNSP
kamaṣ=eve
 COMP=END

‘Each group says **the other** is bad.’ (HD)

There is no special pronoun or set of pronouns that is used with an unemphatic reflexive meaning in Dhivehi (analogous to English *myself*, *yourself*, *themselves*, etc.). The reflexive nature of an action—the fact that one does something to one’s self—is generally left implicit or specified with the repetition of the pronoun or noun phrase, as in 6.14 and 6.15. An emphatic reflexive meaning is obtained by the use of amilla-aṣ , the adverbial form of amilla , meaning ‘one’s own’, ‘personal’, or ‘private’, indicating either that one did something *to* one’s self or *by* one’s self. An example of the former usage is in 6.16, and an example of the latter usage is in 6.9 above (see Section 7.2 for adverb formation with the suffix -aṣ).

- (6.14) $\text{aishā-aṣ billūri.gaṇḍu-n aishā fenunu}$
 Aisha-DAT mirror-ABL Aisha be.seen.PST.3
 ‘Aisha saw **herself** in the mirror.’ (FW1)

- (6.15) maṣ-aṣ ma iṅgē
 1-dat 1 is.known.PRS.3
 ‘I know **myself**.’ (FW2)








- (6.16) $\text{ali amilla-aṣ gai-gā jehi}$
 mirror-ABL self-ADV body-LOC hit.PST.3
 ‘Ali hit **himself** (emphatic).’ (FW2)

6.4 Interrogative pro-forms

Dhivehi interrogative words begin with *ν* **k**, cognate with English *wh*. Basic interrogatives are given in Table 6.5. As noted in the table, some interrogatives specifically select for nouns in the indefinite or unspecified form.

<div>ކާކު</div> <div>kāku</div> <div>‘who’</div>		<div>ކޯސެކް</div> <div>kōccek</div> <div>‘what, which thing’</div>	~	<div>ކޯނެކް</div> <div>kōñcek</div>		
<div>ކިކު</div> <div>kīk</div> <div>‘what’</div>	~	<div>ކިކެ</div> <div>kikē</div>		<div>ކިހިނެކް</div> <div>kihinek</div> <div>‘how, how much’</div>	~	<div>ކިހިނެޓް</div> <div>kihinet</div>
<div>ކިވްވެ</div> <div>kīvve</div> <div>‘why’</div>				<div>ކިޓާކް</div> <div>kitak</div> <div>‘how many’</div>		
<div>ކޮބާ</div> <div>kobā</div> <div>‘where, what’</div>	~	<div>ކޮބައި</div> <div>kobai</div>		<div>ކިހާ</div> <div>kihā</div> <div>‘how much, how many’</div> <div>(with noun in indefinite or unspecified form)</div>		
<div>ކޮން</div> <div>koñ</div> <div>‘which’</div> <div>(with noun in indefinite or unspecified form)</div>						

Table 6.5: Interrogative words

Further interrogative words are created with  **koñ** ‘which’. Examples include  **kon-tāku** ‘where’ [lit. ‘which place’],  **kon iraku** ‘when’ [lit. ‘which time’], and  **kon-kahala** ‘what kind (of)’. The question word  **kōccek** ‘which thing’, given in Table 6.5, is also formed from  **koñ** ‘which’ (with  **eccek** ‘thing.INDF’) but that derivation has been slightly obscured by contraction of the original compound word.

Interrogative words are not used as relative pronouns as they are in some languages, such as English; in Dhivehi the use of these words is restricted to questions

and exclamations (for which see Section 12.8.1), except for **koñ** ‘which’ suffixed with **-me**, which can be used with an indefinite meaning, as discussed in Section 6.5 and Section 6.6.2.

Sentence initially, **koḃā** may also be a discourse marker, as described in Section 9.4.

6.5 Indefinite pro-forms

The interrogative word **koñ** ‘which’, means ‘some’ or ‘any’ when combined with the emphatic clitic **-me**, and as such is the basis of several indefinite pronoun-like phrases, such as **komme-heñ** ‘somehow’. When used with a following noun, which is often itself followed by the particle **-ves**, it means ‘every’, as in **komme duvahaku-ves** ‘every day’. However, if the **-ves** is attached to the **komme**, it means ‘some or other’, as in **komme-ves mihaku** ‘someone or other [lit. some or other person]’. When **komme** modifies a noun which is itself the subject of a verb with a concessive particle, its meaning is ‘whichever’ or ‘no matter which’ as in 6.17 (for concessives, see Section 9.1.9.4 and Section 13.4.1).

(6.17) **ḃā.āru.pī.n komme kēḃiḃēṭ-aku nerun-as**

DRP.PL **which** candidate-UNSP put.out.PST.PTCP-CONC

‘**whichever** candidate the DRP [Maldivian People’s Party] puts forward’
(HD)

Like **koñ** ‘which’, **komme** ‘some, any’ and **komme-ves** ‘some (or other)’ modify nouns in the indefinite or unspecified inflections.

The number name **ek** ‘one’ is also the basis for a couple of indefinite pronouns. The pronoun **emmeñ** means ‘everyone’. The original **k** of the **ek** ‘one’ in **emmeñ** has been respelled as **ñ**. Since **k** before a consonant is realised as gemination, it has been replaced with **ñ**, which is the usual gemination marker used before nasal consonants. As a plural pronoun referring to humans, **emmeñ** carries the suffix **-meñ**. The pronoun **evves** ‘any’, formed from **ek** ‘one’ plus the particle **-ves**, is used in indefinite phrases, such as **evves ecceḃk** ‘anything’. **evves** ‘any’ has negative polarity, meaning that it only occurs in the context of negation or doubt or in a conditional clause. The corresponding positive term is **komme** ‘some, any’.

There are no negative indefinite pronouns. Thus there is no word that means ‘no one’ or ‘nothing’. Instead, a generic noun is used with sentence negation.

(6.18)

salāmatⁱ_koṣ_i_dēne mīh-aku=ves
 safety_do.CNV_give.FUT.PTCP person-UNSP=EMPH
 hurī-kī_nūn=eve
 be(.standing).PST.FOC-NEGC_NEG=END
 ‘There was **no one** to rescue [him].’ (PB)

For indefinite expressions used as quantifiers, see also Section 6.6.2.

6.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words or phrases that express the quantity or amount of something. In this category I am including the expression of specific numbers (such as *five* or *thirty-six*) as well as more indefinite expressions of quantity (such as *many*).

6.6.1 Numeric quantifiers

The names for the numbers⁵ up to ten have a base form, in which they serve as noun modifiers or as the first element of a compound, and an expanded form, suffixed with the indefinite -**ek**, in which they stand alone, used as nouns or for counting. The expanded forms are the ones that Dhivehi speakers will provide when asked for the words for numbers in their language. Thus the numeric quantifiers are an exception to the rule that indefinite forms are not citation forms. Both forms are shown in Table 6.6.

Names for the numbers eleven through 30 are shown in Table 6.7. These do not distinguish base and expanded form. Many of the number names above ten are borrowings from Prakrit (Fritz 2002: 110), and so the historical lenition of /s/ to /h/ that characterizes Dhivehi and Sinhala (mentioned in Section 4.2.1) did not apply to them. Thus four, six, and seven have names that start with /h/, but 14, 16, and 17 have names that start with /s/.

There is usually not a space between a numeric quantifier and the noun it quantifies, especially if the quantifier is short. For example, **tiñ-mīhuñ** ‘three people’ is a much more common spelling than **tiñ mīhuñ**, though both are attested.

⁵ I use the term *number name* to refer to the word used for a given number in a language, reserving *numeral* for the graphical representation of a number. The numerals are discussed in Section 3.7.

	Base (combining) form	Expanded (citation) form
1	ek̤	eke̤
2	de	dēk̤
3	tiñ	tine̤k̤
4	hataru	hatare̤k̤
5	fas	fahe̤k̤
6	ha	hae̤k̤
7	haṭ	hate̤k̤
8	aṣ̣	aṣ̣e̤k̤
9	nuva	nuvaē̤k̤
10	diha	dihaē̤k̤

Table 6.6: Number names 1–10

For the numbers 31 through 99, there are two systems of counting. One of these, shown in the left-hand column of Table 6.8 through Table 6.11, puts the units (the ones value) first and the decade (the tens value) second. The second system, shown in the right-hand column of Table 6.8 through Table 6.11, puts the decade first and the units second. The two systems sometimes use the same names for the decades and sometimes not, as the tables illustrate. The unit-plus-decade counting system shows a number of irregularities.⁶ The decade-plus-unit system, by contrast, is quite regular. In the decade-plus-unit system, the names of the units (one through nine) use the same base (combining) and expanded (noun) forms as they do when they occur alone as in Table 6.6. The expanded forms of the units are shown in Table 6.8 through Table 6.11, as they are the citation forms. However, if these numeral quantifiers are used in combination

⁶ Indo-Aryan languages in general display a great deal of irregularity in their number names (Bright 1990: 74–85). Another Indo-Aryan feature (also present in some Dravidian languages) in this counting system is the use of special forms for decade-plus-nine (i.e., 19, 29, 39, ...), which look to the decade above rather than the one below. Such special “nine” forms are optional in Dhivehi, as the tables indicate.

11	egāra	21	ekāvīs
12	bāra	22	bāvīs
13	tēra	23	tēvīs
14	sāda	24	sauvīs
15	fanara	25	fansavīs
16	sōḷa	26	sabbīs
17	satāra	27	hatāvīs
18	aṣāra	28	aṣāvīs
19	onavihi	29	onatiris
	navāra		navāvīs
20	vihi	30	tirīs

Table 6.7: Number names 11–30

or in modifying a noun, they use the base forms of the units as in Table 6.6, without the indefinite **-ek**.

Larger numbers are summarized briefly in Table 6.12. Large numbers are mostly regular, but **dui satta** ‘two hundred’ is irregular. In keeping with South Asian tradition, Dhivehi uses lakhs (hundred thousands) and crores (ten millions) as basic number units. However, the English word *million* has been borrowed and is used as well. I am indebted to Abdulla and O’Shea (2005), Maniku and Disanayaka (1990) and Maloney (1980) for the complete list of number names.

Sequential numbers can be combined to give an approximate number: **de-tiñ** ‘two-three’ is very commonly used to mean ‘a couple’ or ‘a few’. Approximate numbers can also be marked with **-ka**, as in **haekka** ‘about six’.

The ordinal forms of the number names are made by adding the suffix **-vana**: thus **de-vana** is ‘second’. An irregularity here is the ordinal **furatama** ‘first’, which is usually used in place of **ek-vana** ‘first’.

The numerals used in Dhivehi (that is, the written characters used to represent numbers), are the Western Arabic numerals, as in English. When writing in Arabic, Maldivians use the Eastern Arabic numerals.

Historically, Dhivehi had an unusual counting system that was duodecimal (base twelve). Maloney calls the presence of such a counting system in an Indo-Aryan lan-

31	ettirīs	tirīs ekeḵ
32	battirīs	tirīs dēḵ
33	tettirīs	tirīs tineḵ
34	sauratirīs	tirīs hatarek
35	fansatirīs	tirīs fahek
36	satirīs	tirīs haek
37	satutirīs	tirīs hateḵ
38	aṣutirīs	tirīs aṣeḵ
39	onasāḷis	tirīs nuvaek
	navatirīs	

Table 6.8: Number names 31–39

guage “exceedingly curious,” as the words for the numbers are Indo-Aryan in origin despite the fact that other Indo-Aryan languages are strictly base ten (Maloney 1980: 139). Maloney reports that at the time of his fieldwork (the mid-1970s) some people still used the base-twelve system in quickly counting traditional items such as coconuts or fish. However, Fritz later reports having difficulties finding speakers who remember the duodecimal system, even in the south of the country where the system remained in use longer (Fritz 2002: 107). One word from the duodecimal system, that for ‘sixty’, *fas-doḷas*, literally ‘five dozen’, is still used today. (For a full list of the duodecimal number names, see Maloney 1980: 140–143).

40	سَالِس sālīs	سَالِس sālīs
41	اِکَالِس ekālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs ekeḵ
42	بَايَالِس bayālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs dēḵ
43	تِیْیَالِس teyālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs tineḵ
44	سَاوَرَايَالِس saurayālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs hatareḵ
45	فَانَسَايَالِس fansayālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs faheḵ
46	سَاوَالِس sayālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs haek
47	سَاتَالِس satālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs hateḵ
48	اَشَالِس ašālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs aṣeḵ
49	اَوْنَاْفَانَس onafansās نَاوَسَايَالِس navasālīs	سَالِس سَالِس sālīs nuvaek
50	فَانَس fansās	فَانَس fansās
51	اِکَاوَانِنَا ekāvanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās ekeḵ
52	بَاوَانِنَا bāvanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās dēḵ
53	تِیْوَانِنَا tēvanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās tineḵ
54	سَاوَرَاوَانِنَا sauravanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās hatareḵ
55	فَانَسَاوَانِنَا fansavanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās faheḵ
56	سَاوَانِنَا savanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās haek
57	سَاتَاوَانِنَا satuvanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās hateḵ
58	اَشَاوَانِنَا ašovanna	فَانَس فَانَس fansās aṣeḵ
59	اَوْنَاهَاتِی onahaṭṭī نَاوَا فَانَس nava fansās	فَانَس فَانَس fansās nuvaek

Table 6.9: Number names 40–59

60	هاتّی haṭṭi	فاس-دولاس fas-doḷas [lit. 'five dozen']
61	هکاهاتّی ekāhaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس هکاه ekeḥ
62	باهاتّی bāhaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس دک dek
63	تهاتّی tēhaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس تینهک tineḥ
64	سوراهاتّی saurahaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس هتارهک hateḥ
65	فانسهاتّی fansahaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس فاهک faheḥ
66	سهاتّی sahaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس هاک haḥ
67	ساتهاتّی satuhaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس هتاک hateḥ
68	اڤهاتّی aṣuhaṭṭi	فاس-دولاس اڤهک aṣeḥ
69	وناهاتّاری onahaṭṭari	فاس-دولاس نواهک nuvaḥ
	نواهاتّی nava haṭṭi	
70	هاڤتاری haṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا haṭ-diha
71	هکاهاتّاری ekāhaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا هکاه ekeḥ
72	باهاتّاری bāhaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا دک dek
73	تهاتّاری tēhaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا تینهک tineḥ
74	سوراهاتّاری saurahaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا هتارهک hateḥ
75	فانسهاتّاری fansahaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا فاهک faheḥ
76	سهاتّاری sahaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا هاک haḥ
77	ساتهاتّاری satuhaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا هتاک hateḥ
78	اڤهاتّاری aṣuhaṭṭari	هاڤ-دیا اڤهک aṣeḥ
79	ونا-اڤی ona-āhi	هاڤ-دیا نواهک nuvaḥ
	نواهاتّاری nava haṭṭari	

Table 6.10: Number names 60–79

80	āhi	aḍ-ḍiha
81	ekāhi	aḍ-ḍiha ekeḵ
82	bayāhi	aḍ-ḍiha dēḵ
83	teyāhi	aḍ-ḍiha tineḵ
84	saurayāhi	aḍ-ḍiha hatareḵ
85	fansayāhi	aḍ-ḍiha faheḵ
86	sayāhi	aḍ-ḍiha haekḵ
87	satāhi	aḍ-ḍiha hateḵ
88	aṣāhi	aḍ-ḍiha aṣeḵ
89	onavai	aḍ-ḍiha nuvaekḵ
	navāhi	
90	navai	nuva-diha
91	ekānavai	nuva-diha ekeḵ
92	bayānavai	nuva-diha dēḵ
93	teyānavai	nuva-diha tineḵ
94	saurayānavai	nuva-diha hatareḵ
95	fansayānavai	nuva-diha faheḵ
96	sayānavai	nuva-diha haekḵ
97	satānavai	nuva-diha hateḵ
98	aṣānavai	nuva-diha aṣeḵ
99	onasatta	nuva-diha nuvaekḵ
	navānavai	

Table 6.11: Number names 80–99

100	ސަތޭކާ satēka
200	ދުއިސާތާ dui-satta
300	ތިނި-ސަތޭކާ tiñ-satēka
1000	އެކު-ހާސް ek-hās
100,000	އެކު-ލަބްބާ ek-lakka
1,000,000	އެކު-މިލިޔާން ek-miliyañ
10,000,000	އެކު-ކުރުޅު ek-kurōḍu
1,000,000,000	އެކު-އަރަބު ek-arabu

Table 6.12: Large numbers

6.6.2 Non-numeric quantifiers

Non-numeric or indefinite quantifiers that express small or indefinite quantities include ބަޔަޔެކު **bayek** ‘some’ [lit. ‘a part’ or ‘a group’], as in ބަޔަޔެކު މެޅުކުޅު **bayek mecutaḵ** ‘some matches (games)’. ބަޔަޔެކު **bayek** ‘some’ can also serve as an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘some (people)’. The quantifier ފަދަ **emme** means ‘single’, and as such it means ‘a single’ before a noun, as in ފަދަ މީހެއް **emme mihaku** ‘a single person’. Before an adjective, however, it means ‘the single most’ or ‘the most’, as in ފަދަ ބޮޑު **emme boḍu** ‘biggest’.

Expressions of large quantities include ހުދުހިޔާ **hurihā** ‘all’, ގަދަ **etak** ‘numerous’, and ގިނަ **gina** ‘many’, while a modest amount is indicated by ބަހުލު **kitamme** ‘several’ (derived from an emphatic form of ބަހުލު **kitak** ‘how many?’).

6.7 Adjectives

Dhivehi adjectives have few distinguishing characteristics and little morphology associated with them. Many words, such as ތަފާތު **tafātu** ‘difference/different’, may be used as either nouns or adjectives, or so it appears to a speaker of English. Such words are generally described simply as nouns in the national dictionary *Dhivehi Basfoiy* [*Dhivehi Dictionary*] 2011, with the label of ނަން-އިތުރު **nañ-ituru** ‘adjective’ generally reserved for words that are unambiguously adjectives, such as ބޮޑު **boḍu** ‘big’, or those with the adjectival derivational morphology described in Section 6.7.3. A true test of whether a word is an adjective is that an adjective may be used as a predicator with-

out a copula or a verb (as described further in Section 12.1.1). Nouns are not used in this way. It is mainly because of this distinction in behavior between adjectives and nouns that adjectives can safely be considered a separate lexical category in Dhivehi. However, I have not applied the predicator test to establish how many adjectives there are. In general, if a content word modifies a noun and contributes an adjective-like meaning in its English translation, I consider it an adjective.

Adjectives in Dhivehi do not inflect for case; thus an adjective will not vary with the case of the noun it describes, whether it is being used attributively (modifying a noun) or predicatively (taking the place of a verb or used with a verb). Adjectives that are used predicatively in negative sentences or are the complements of negative verbs take what appears to be indefiniteness inflection, however, as negative contexts demand negative concord, often expressed as an indefinite suffix. (See Section 9.1.6 and Section 12.7 for more on negation and negative concord.) Adjectives also usually do not inflect for number, but a few do have plural forms, as described in Section 6.7.1. For those words that may be either nouns or adjectives, if such a word is uninflected it is either an adjective or a noun in the definite singular direct (citation) form; if inflected (other than the indefinite or unspecified in a negative context), it is a noun.

6.7.1 Plural adjectives

A few adjectives have plural forms, used when the noun the adjective is describing is plural. These include ބޮއް **boḍu** ‘big’, with plural ބޮއްޑެއް **boḍeti**; ފުޅު **kuḍa** ‘small’, with plural ފުއްޑެއް **kudi**; and ތާޅު **moḷu** ‘excellent’, with plural ތާޅެއް **moḷeti**. Usually, however, adjectives do not show number inflection.

6.7.2 Comparatives and superlatives

Adjectives do not inflect for comparative and superlative. In other words, there is no inflection analogous to English *-er* or *-est*. These concepts are expressed phrasally in Dhivehi. Superlatives are created with the word ރަންދެއް **emme** ‘the single’, as mentioned in Section 6.6, and comparisons are made with the postposition ވުރެ **vure** ‘compared to, than’, described in Section 7.1.3.

6.7.3 Adjective derivation

Adjectives may be derived from abstract nouns with the suffixation of ތެރި **-teri** or ތަވަހު **-veri**, corresponding to English *-ful*, e.g., ބޭނުންތެރި **ehiteri** ‘helpful’, from ބޭނުން **ehi** ‘help’. Generally ތެރި **-teri** is used if the noun ends in the consonants ތު **t̪** or ނު **n̪**, or the

vowels **ā** or **i**; and **-veri** is used otherwise. However, these rules are not hard and fast. The **-veri** and **-teri** suffixes are common and relatively productive.

The suffix **-i** on a noun changes it to an abstract adjective that means ‘having to do with’, as in **dini** ‘having to do with religion’, from **din** ‘religion’. By contrast, adding the suffix **-veri** yields **dinveri** ‘religious’, a description of a person who is pious (note that **dinveri** ‘religious’ is an exception to the generalization of **-teri** occurring after **n̄/m̄**).

Another, less common suffix that is used to derive a handful of adjectives from nouns is **-veti**, as in **laduveti** ‘shy’, from the noun **ladu** ‘shame, modesty’. In some cases there are pairs of related adjectives derived from the same noun, one with **-veti** and one with **-veri**. Thus while **biruveri**, from **biru** ‘fear’, means ‘fearful’, **biruveti** means ‘respectful’. Similarly, **aļuveti** from **aļu** ‘slave’, means ‘slavish’, while **aļuveri** focuses on the religious use of **aļu** ‘slave’ (also evident in the use of **aļu** ‘slave’ to refer to one’s self when addressing God, described in Section 6.2.1) and means ‘religious’.

The suffix **-vanta** also derives adjectives: for example, added to **rahim** ‘mercy’ it yields **rahimvanta** ‘merciful’. It is not used with a wide range of nouns. The ones it does attach to include **ekbai** ‘one part’ and **daruma** ‘charity’, to yield **ekbaivanta** ‘unified’ and **darumavanta** ‘righteous’.

It is not uncommon for adjectives derived from nouns to in turn be suffixed with **-kaṁ** to derive nouns again. Such nouns are generally more abstract than the original ones. Nouns derived from adjectives with the addition of **-kaṁ** are given their own part of speech in Dhivehi lexicography, that of **naṁ-ituru-naṁ** ‘adjectival noun’. Adjectives may also be suffixed with the human definite **-ā** or the human plural **-n̄** to derive human nouns. These derivations are described in Section 5.6.3.

6.7.3.1 Noun-adjective compounds

A number of adjectives are derived from noun-adjective compounds, such as **aṅga-gada** ‘talkative’ (from **aṅga** ‘mouth’ and **gada** ‘strong’), **agu-heyo** ‘inexpensive’ (from **agu** ‘price’ and **heyo** ‘good’), and **biru-kuḍa** ‘fearless’ (from **biru** ‘fear’ and **kuḍa** ‘small’). While lexicalized as compounds in the modern language, such adjectives appear historically to result from clauses that have the adjective as a predicate. Because an adjective may be the predicator in a clause (see Section 12.1), and because clauses that modify noun phrases occur before nouns, a noun-adjective clause whose meaning is (for example) ‘whose price is small’ will presumably tend to become lexicalized over time as a single word meaning ‘inexpensive’. That many such adjectives are clearly lexicalized in the modern language be-

comes obvious from the placement of ^٤٤٤٤ **emme** ‘the most, a single’ in ^٤٤٤٤ ^٤٤٤٤ **emme biru-kuḏa** ‘the most fearless’, since the superlative meaning of ^٤٤٤٤ **emme** (that is, its meaning as ‘the most’ rather than its meaning as ‘a single’) occurs when it precedes an adjective (such as ^٤٤٤٤ **biru-kuḏa** ‘fearless’), not when it precedes a noun (such as ^٤٤٤٤ **biru** ‘fear’).

7 Postpositions and Adverbs


Dhivehi uses *postpositions* rather than prepositions. Postpositions, which occur with noun phrases and express the relationship of the noun phrase to other parts of the sentence, fill the same role as prepositions do in a language like English; but they come after their noun phrase objects rather than before. As in English, Dhivehi *adverbs* are used to modify a verb or a clause. The categories of postposition and adverb are minor lexical categories in Dhivehi that consist mostly of words derived other classes. In fact, there is no specific category of postposition listed in the national dictionary (*Dhivehi Basfoiy* [Dhivehi Dictionary] 2011). There are, however, a few postpositions that are not derived. Adverbs do have their own category in the dictionary, known as ޯޯޯޯ **kam-ituru** ‘adverb’, lit. ‘verb-extra’. There is also a small class of degree modifiers, which modify both adjectives and adverbs, known as ޯޯޯޯ **ituru** ‘modifier’, lit. ‘extra’.

7.1 Postpositions

With a few exceptions, including the comparative ޯޯ **vure** ‘than, compared to’, the benefactive ޯޯ **takai** ‘for (the sake of)’ (discussed in Section 7.1.3), and a handful of postpositions derived from verbs (discussed in Section 7.1.2), postpositions in Dhivehi are generally derived from nouns.

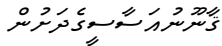
7.1.1 Nominal postpositions

The typical Dhivehi postposition is derived from a noun and is considered to be a noun in the national dictionary (*Dhivehi Basfoiy* [Dhivehi Dictionary] 2011). The nouns used as postpositions are largely drawn from those describing relative locations (like ‘back’, ‘front’, ‘top’, etc.). They behave somewhat differently from normal nouns in that they take other nouns (or noun phrases) as their objects and assign them a particular case. Because of their case-marking and phrase-heading properties I consider them *nominal postpositions* (that is, postpositions derived from nouns) rather than simply nouns here, but with no strong theoretical claim. Depending on the postposition, genitive or sociative case will generally be assigned, but dative is also possible. The nominal postpositions themselves often appear in the dative, locative, or ablative/instrumental case, depending on their individual meaning or role in a sentence, but they may also occur without a specific case ending. When they occur without a case ending they will be in a form that may be called adverbial or oblique, which adds ޯ -**u** to a consonant-final noun stem (as also mentioned in Section 7.2). The following are some examples of postpositions that take genitive objects.

(7.1) *māle_terē-ga*

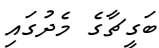
Malé_inside-LOC

‘in Malé’ (SC)

(7.2) *qānūnu_asāsī-ge=daṣu-ñ*

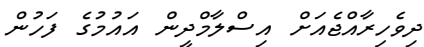
law_basis-GEN=under-ABL

‘under the constitution’ (HD)

(7.3) *bagicā-ge medu-gai*

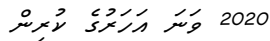
garden-GEN middle-LOC

‘in the middle of the garden’ (FD)

(7.4) *divehi_rājje-aṣ islām_dīn aumu-ge fahu-ñ*

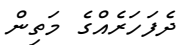
Dhivehi_country-DAT Islam_religion come.VN-GEN back-ABL

‘after the coming of Islam to the Maldives’ (DA)

(7.5)  20202020 *vana aharu-ge kuri-n*

2020 th year-GEN front-ABL

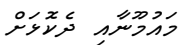
‘before the year 2020’ (HD)

(7.6) *de_fahar-ek-ge mati-ñ*

two_instance-INDF-GEN top-ABL

‘on two occasions’ (HD)

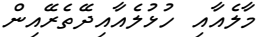
The following are some examples of postpositions that take sociative objects.

(7.7) *maumūn-āi de.koḷ-aṣ*

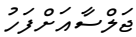
Maumoon-SOC opposition-DAT


‘against Maumoon’ (HD)

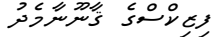
- (7.8) 
epriḷ mah-āi hama-aṣ
 April month-SOC level-DAT
 ‘until April’ (MI)

- (7.9) 
māle-āi huḷule-āi dēterē-in
 Malé-and Hulhule-SOC_between-ABL
 ‘between Malé and Hulhule [the airport island]’ (HD)

The following is an example of a nominal postposition assigning dative case. This is the same basic postposition as in example 7.4 above, but without the ablative/instrumental ending, and assigning a different case. Either form may be used, though the dative-assigning one in 7.10 is much more common.

- (7.10) 
jalsā-aṣ_fahu
 assembly-DAT_back
 ‘after the assembly’ (HD)

For some postpositions, the case they assign varies with whether the intended meaning is more literal or more abstract. The sociative case tends to be more abstract. Thus when  *medu* ‘middle’ assigns genitive case, it means literally ‘in the middle of’, as in 7.3, while when it assigns sociative case it means ‘about’ or ‘concerning’, as in 7.11.

- (7.11) 
fiziks-ge qānūn-ā_medu
 physics-GEN law-SOC_middle
 ‘concerning the laws of physics’ (HD)

7.1.2 Verbal postpositions

Certain verbs may also perform the function of postpositions. As with nouns, it is not entirely clear whether these should be considered merely verbs or as verb-derived postpositions. However, they are included here in the class of postpositions because of their semantic function, because some of them in their postposition form assign a different case than they do in their more usual verbal form, and because only certain

inflected forms of these verbs function in this way. An example of such a verbal postposition is shown in 7.12, where the **lai** ‘put’ (the converb of the verb **lanī** ‘puts’; see Section 8.3.3.1 for more on converbs) is used to mean ‘with’ and assigns sociative case. It often occurs in such uses with the successive particle **-geñ** (see Section 8.3.5 for more on the successive particles). In the negative, as in 7.13, it means ‘without’.

- (7.12) *rayyitun-ge majilihu-ge ruhum-āi_lai=geñ*
 people-GEN parliament-GEN approve.VN-SOC **put.CNV=SUCC**
 ‘with the approval of the people’s parliament’ (HD)

- (7.13) *ituru tahugīg-ak-ā nu=lai*
 further investigation-UNSP-SOC **NEG=put.CNV**
 ‘without further investigation’ (MI)

Another verbal postposition is the present participle **behē** ‘about, concerning’, from the verb **behenī** ‘concerns one’s self with’. **behē** ‘about, concerning’ also takes an object in the sociative case.

- (7.14) *insānī haqqu-tak-āi behē*
 human right-PL-SOC **concerning**
 ‘concerning human rights’ (MI)

A few other verbs have uses that translate as prepositions in English, but they do not assign a special case and are thus somewhat less like true postpositions. They are included here as examples of additional means by which Dhivehi expresses the kinds of relations that postpositions are often used to express. An example is **deke**, which is the converb of **dekenī** ‘sees’ (see Section 8.3.3.1 for more on converbs). This verb is used to present the object of an emotion, as in 7.15. This usage presumably arose because the sight of the person or other object of emotion arouses the emotion.

- (7.15) *e=hā=ves muzāharā_deke biru_gane=eve*
 DEM3=amount=EMPH demonstration **see.CNV** fear_take.PRS.3=END
 ‘[They] are afraid **of** so much demonstration.’ (HD)

The verbal particle of nonexistence **netī** ‘is not’ (of which the related verb **netenī** ‘is absent’ is a back-formation, according to Reynolds 2003), has a converb form

neti, which is used to mean ‘without’. (For more on neṭ ‘is not’, see Section 9.1.6 and Section 12.7.) As a negative, neti ‘without’ takes an object in the indefinite or unspecified inflection (as does nulai ‘without’ in 7.13).

- (7.16) *ē-ge_fahatu-gai bār-ek_neṭi*
 DEM3-GEN_behind-LOC force-INDF_**without
 ‘without force behind it’ (HD)

7.1.3 Other postpositions

A few postpositions are not derived from nouns or verbs. The benefactive *-takai* may be translated as ‘for’, ‘for the sake of’, or (with a verbal noun object) ‘in order to’. It takes a noun phrase in the dative case as its object, and it is written as a suffix on the previous word. Because it is written as a suffix and does not inflect, it is shown as a clitic in the glosses below, but without any serious theoretical claim.¹ Before the sentence-final particle *-eve*, it will be spelled *-taka*, which is also the way it is pronounced generally. Examples of the use of *-takai* are in 7.17 and 7.18.

- (7.17) *tārīkh-aṣ̣=takai*
 history-DAT=for
 ‘for the sake of history’ (HD)
- (7.18) *duṣum-aṣ̣=takai*
 see.VN-DAT=for
 ‘in order to see [lit. for the sake of seeing]’ (HD)

The benefactive postposition *-takai* is unusual in Dhivehi for being a (non-loan) morpheme that begins with a retroflex consonant. This is presumably because it always follows a word with the dative case suffix *aṣ̣*, and is thus always in an environment where a dental assimilates to a preceding retroflex (as described in Section

¹ More work is needed to definitively disentangle the concepts of lexical word, phonological word, and orthographic word in Dhivehi.

3.5).² The dative case by itself can have a benefactive meaning, so that (for example) رَجْجَاش *rājjeaš* may mean either ‘to the country’ or ‘for the country’, but تَكَاي *-takai* is more explicitly and unambiguously benefactive. (For benefactive verbs, see Section 11.2.)

Comparisons are made with the postposition *vure* ‘compared to, than’ (sometimes also spelled *vuren*), as in examples 7.19 and 7.20. There is no morphological inflection that creates comparative adjectives in Dhivehi; instead, constructions with *vure* ‘compared to’ are used to make comparatives, as in 7.19. Like *-takai*, *vure* ‘compared to’ takes a dative object and is usually (but not always) written as a suffix.

- (7.19) *ge.aš=vure mā boḍu*
house.DAT=**compared.to** great big
‘much bigger **than** the house’ (FD)

- (7.20) *90 milian-aš=vure gina_rufiyā*
90 million-DAT=**compared.to** many_rufiyaa
‘more **than** 90 million rufiyaa’ (HD)

The precise sense of *vure* is potentially confusing in some contexts. It can be tempting to translate it as ‘more than’, in cases like 7.19 and 7.20. However, in a context such as 7.21, such a translation does not work. Whether there is more or less of the relevant quality will be determined by other words in the construction, not by the *vure* ‘compared to’. In 7.19 and 7.20 it is the *boḍu* ‘big’ and *gina* ‘many’ respectively that determines the direction of comparison, while in 7.21 it is the *kuḍa* ‘small’.

- (7.21) *e adab-aš=vure kuḍa*
DEM3 amount-DAT=**compared.to** small
‘smaller **than** that amount’ (HD)

The postposition *eku* or *ekugai* ‘with’, is derived from the quantifier *ek* ‘one’, and takes an object in the sociative case. It is also usually spelled as a suffix on the preceding word, as in 7.22 and 7.23.

² This suggests that the boundary between *-takai* and its object is analogous to that between the elements of a compound word and not to that between a stem and a suffix, as the boundary in a compound word constitutes the other environment in which a dental assimilates to a preceding retroflex, as discussed in Section 3.5.

(7.22) ފަލް ފަލް ފަލް ފަލް ފަލް

*āilā-āi=eku*family-SOC=**with**

‘with the family’ (HD)

(7.23) ފަސަ ފަސަ ފަސަ ފަސަ ފަސަ

*fasēha-kam-ā=eku*easy-NMLZ-SOC=**with**

‘with ease’ (HD)

Another of the small set of nonnominal postpositions is ފަން ފަން **kureñ** or ފަން **kure**, meaning ‘from’. Its use is not common. However, it is sometimes used with a human object to yield an ablative (‘from’) meaning, given that the regular ablative/instrumental case ending does not occur with human nouns and pronouns. In such contexts, illustrated in 7.24, the human noun is in the direct case. When used with other nouns, ފަން ފަން **kureñ** assigns ablative/instrumental case, as in 7.25. ފަން ފަން **kureñ** is often, but not always, written as a suffix on the preceding word.

(7.24) ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން

*eḍitaru=kureñ ahai*editor=**from** ask.CNV‘having asked [**of**] the editor’ (HD)

(7.25) ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން

*tin̩_kam-un=kure**komme=ves kam-eḳ*three_action-ABL=**from** some=EMPH action-INDF‘some one (or other) action **out of** three’ (HD)

7.2 Adverbs

Like postpositions, adverbs in Dhivehi are usually derived from words of other lexical categories, particularly adjectives and nouns.

Perhaps the most common way of deriving adverbs is to use a noun or adjective and add ފަން **-n**, also the ablative/instrumental case ending. Thus it is not clear whether these words belong to a separate word class (that of adverbs, albeit derived), or whether they are simply a particular use of ablative/instrumental nouns. In other words, it is not entirely clear whether these words are lexically adverbs or lexically nouns that

fill an adverbial syntactic role. When -n is added to a noun to create a manner adverb, an instrumental meaning does seem to be at work: for example, kaşavaru ‘certainty’ yields kaşavaruñ ‘certainly’, or ‘with certainty’. However, such an instrumental meaning is less obvious when the base word is an adjective, as when madu ‘rare’ becomes maduñ ‘rarely’. On the other hand, given that the boundary between adjectives and nouns is rather fluid (see Section 5.6.3), this may be an instrumental noun meaning ‘with rarity’. Sometimes in the derivation of such adverbs the adjective is reduplicated, so that madu ‘rare’ may also become madu-maduñ ‘rarely’. This tends to have an intensifying effect.

It is also the case that the suffix -n creates adverbs of time and place from the same sorts of nouns that are used to create postpositions; in such cases perhaps the ablative side of the ablative/instrumental case is at work. Examples include fahuñ ‘afterward’ (from fas ‘back’), kuriñ ‘before, earlier’ (from kuri ‘front’), and matiñ ‘above, aloft’ (from mati ‘top’). Presumably it is the adverbial use of many of the postpositional phrases in Section 7.1.1 that triggers the inclusion of so many ablative/instrumental case forms in the postpositions there.

Adverbs may also be derived from adjectives and nouns with the addition of -aş , identical in form to the dative case suffix. While the dative case use and the adverbial use overlap in some instances, as in kuriaş , which can mean other ‘forward’ (adverbial) or ‘to the front’ (dative), in other instances the connection between the two uses of -aş is considerably less clear. Thus bođu , ‘big’ becomes bođaş ‘greatly’, and avas ‘quick, speed’ becomes avahaş ‘quickly, soon’. In some instances, an adverb with -aş and an adverb with -n both exist but with slightly different meanings, as in maccaş ‘up, upward’ versus matiñ ‘above, aloft’, both derived from mati ‘top’. Similarly, kuriaş means ‘forward, ahead’, while kuriñ means ‘before’ or ‘early’. Both are derived from kuri ‘front’.

Adverbs of manner may also be derived from adjectives via -koş , which is identical in form to the converb of the verb kuranî , ‘does’ (see Section 8.3.3.1 for converbs). Thus khāssa , ‘special’ becomes khāssa-koş ‘especially’, āmmu ‘general, common’ becomes āmmu-koş ‘generally’, and kuđa ‘small’ becomes kuđa-koş ‘a little, slightly’. Such adverbs are identical in form to adjective-converb constructions, so that kuđa-koş can mean either ‘a little’ or ‘having reduced’. One thing that sometimes helps to distinguish the two is that the adverbial -koş does not take the successive particles -fai or -geñ that the converb koş often does (for which see Section 8.3.5). Sometimes, however, only context distinguishes the two.

Adverbs—or more accurately, adverbial phrases—may also be derived with the use of the word gotuñ , ‘with the way’, ablative/instrumental of goť ‘way, manner’. An example is jōgrafi gotuñ , ‘geographically’.

Many adverbs of time—such as **iyye** ‘yesterday’ and **mihāru** ‘now’—are related to corresponding nouns. If the noun ends in a vowel, the noun and the adverb are identical. However, when the noun ends in a consonant, the adverb will end in the adverbial/oblique **-u**.³ Thus **hōmaduvas** is the noun ‘Monday’, but **hōmaduvahu** is an adverb, translatable as ‘on Monday’. As mentioned above, some adverbs of time are derived from nouns with the ablative instrumental suffix **-n̄**. These are often the same as the nouns which are also used as postpositions, such as **kuri** ‘front’, which forms both the adverb **kuriñ** ‘before, earlier’ and the postposition **kuriñ** ‘before’ (as well as the adverb **kuriāṣ** ‘forward, ahead’ and the postposition **kuriḡai** ‘before’).

Other adverbs that have the same form as a noun or adjective include the sentence adverb **aslu** ‘actually, really’ (used in much the way *actually* is in English), which means ‘origin’ as a noun and ‘real’ or ‘original’ as an adjective. The adverb **adi** ‘still, yet’ is form identical to a conjunction meaning ‘and’. The adverb **anekkā** ‘again’ appears to be derived from the adjective **anek** ‘the other’, but not in any regular or productive way.

Certain other adverbs are created by the combination of a demonstrative (for which see Section 6.1) with an adverbial particle or a noun. These include **mi-heñ** ‘this way, like this’ and **e-heñ** ‘that way, like that’, **mi-fada** ‘this manner’ and **e-fada** ‘that manner’, and **mi-kahala** ‘this sort’ and **e-kahala** ‘that sort’ as adverbs of manner; **mi-taṇ** ‘here’ and **e-taṇ** ‘there’ and **mi-koḷu** ‘this side’ and **e-koḷu** ‘that side’ as adverbs of place; and **mihāru** ‘now’ and **ēru** ‘then’ as adverbs of time. As appropriate to context, forms with **ti(ya)** may also be used, but are rare in formal writing, in which the location of the audience is rarely relevant. However, these adverbs may also occur in other contexts without demonstratives. Certain examples are discussed in Section 13.4.4.

7.3 Degree modifiers

Degree modifiers are often classified as adverbs, but unlike regular adverbs in English or Dhivehi, degree modifiers (such as English *very*) modify adjectives and adverbs and sometimes other categories as well. Dhivehi lexicography recognizes degree modifiers as a separate lexical category, known as **ituru** ‘extra’ or ‘additional’ from the fact that they give extra meaning to the adjective or adverb they are used with. (Adjectives are similarly known as **naṁ-ituru** ‘noun-extra’ and adverbs as **kaṁ-ituru** ‘verb-extra’).

³ Jonathon Lum (p.c.) points out that this final **-u** may be an archaic locative which is used in the modern standard language only in a few contexts such as these time expressions.

The degree modifier **varaṣ** (from the noun **varu** ‘amount’) means ‘very’ or ‘very much’ and is very commonly used. It may be used to modify either an adjective, as in **varaṣ raṅgaḷu** ‘very good’; an adverb, as in **varaṣ-boḍaṣ** ‘very greatly’; a quantifier, as in **varaṣ baivaru** ‘very many’; or a verb, as in **varaṣ visnanī** ‘thinks very much’. A more literary word with the same meaning is **nuhanu** ‘very’.

The degree modifier **hāda** means ‘very’ or ‘many a’ and may be used to modify nouns, where it triggers the indefinite inflection, as in **hāda shakuvāek** ‘many a complaint’; adjectives, as in **hāda fiṇḍi** ‘very timid’; and adverbs, as in **hāda saḷikoṣ** ‘very nicely’. While both **varaṣ** and **hāda** mean ‘very’, **hāda** has a more exclamatory feel.

The indefinite noun **taṅkoḷek**, meaning literally ‘a bit of space’, can be used as a degree modifier in the same way that ‘a bit’ is in English, as in **taṅkoḷek-kuriṇ** ‘a bit earlier’.

The word **hama** (cognate with English *same*) can function as a degree modifier meaning ‘simply’ or ‘just’. It is also a noun meaning ‘justice’, ‘order’, or ‘rhythm’ and an adjective meaning ‘just’, ‘equal’, or ‘level’.

8 Verbs and Verb Morphology

Dhivehi verbs display a considerable amount of morphology. The *finite* verbs, which are fully inflecting main-clause verbs, inflect for three tenses (past, present, and future) and show some person agreement with the subject of the sentence (as discussed in Section 8.3.1). In addition to finite verb forms there are also medial and nonfinite forms. *Medial* verb forms are participles, which inflect for past, present, and future tenses but never for person. They are discussed in Section 8.3.2. Participles are used in Dhivehi to modify nouns and to mark focus and progressive aspect. The *nonfinite* verb forms (Section 8.3.3) do not inflect for either tense or person. They are the infinitive, the verbal noun, and the conjunctive verb or converb, which is used for certain types of verbs that are subordinate to the main verb of a sentence.

Structurally, a verb can be divided into three parts: a *root*, which contains the verb's basic meaning; a *thematic vowel*, which helps to determine the verb's inflectional class and tense; and an *inflectional ending*. Together the root and the thematic vowel can be said to constitute the *stem*. This structure is illustrated in Figure 8.1.

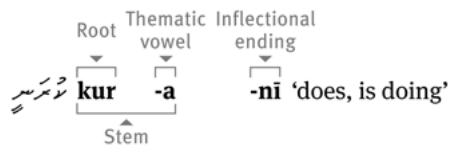


Figure 8.1: Verb structure

The inflectional ending of a verb varies with tense, person, mood, and aspect, as will be laid out in Section 8.3. The thematic vowel varies with the verb's inflectional class and its tense. The root itself is also subject to morphological processes, which I consider (following Cain and Gair 2000: 22) to be derivational rather than inflectional in nature, although they often affect the thematic vowel and the verb's inflectional class as well as the root. These derivations reflect whether a verb is active, inactive, or causative, and whether it is honorific or plain. Because these derivations involve the root of the verb, I treat them first, in Section 8.1, and turn to inflections afterwards. Those preferring to begin with inflectional morphology may skip to Section 8.2.

The verb in Figure 8.1 is given in its citation form. The citation form of verbs used in this grammar is the present progressive participle (discussed further in Section 8.3.2.1) which ends in ⁿⁱ -ni, as in ^{hadani} hadani 'makes' or ^{kurani} kurani 'does'. The present progressive is generally chosen by Western linguists as the citation form because, unlike the verbal noun often used for this purpose in the Maldives, it shows the underlying stem vowels and thus reliably distinguishes between inactive and active verbs (as

explained further in Section 8.3.3.3). Because the present progressive verbs are present-tense forms, I follow Reynolds (2003) in glossing them as third-person present verbs in English so as to emphasize that they are marked for present tense (though not in fact for person).

The stem that precedes the ni of the citation form is the present-tense stem. Most active but non-honorific verbs have stems that are two syllables long, with most of the stem vowels being /a/ in the present tense. This is not a hard-and-fast rule, however, as some verbs contain other vowels or are longer or shorter than two syllables. The shorter verbs tend to be commonly used irregular verbs such as dani ‘goes’, kani ‘eats’, and deni ‘gives’. The longer verbs are often (but not always) compounds, at least historically.¹

Verbs are a closed class in Dhivehi: new verbs are not created or borrowed. Instead, certain verbs are used to incorporate loanwords into compound verbs, as discussed further in Section 11.1.

8.1 Derivational verb families

Most verbs in Dhivehi exist as part of a derivational family, meaning that their stems are derivationally related. These families extend in two dimensions. One dimension reflects a combination of the verb’s valence (the number of arguments it takes) and the agentivity of its subject. On this dimension a typical verb family will have one member that is intransitive, involitive, and/or inactive; one member that is transitive and/or active; and a member that is causative. Valence plays a part in differentiating between these verbs, in that an intransitive verb takes just one argument, a transitive verb takes two (a subject and an object), and a causative takes three (the causer of the action, the doer of the action, and the object of the action). However, even if a verb has two arguments, if the doer of the action is not behaving volitionally, the verb will fall in the same derivational category as an intransitive verb due to the subject’s low agentivity. Analogously, a verb whose subject is the external cause of an action or change of state

¹ While the compound status of the longer verbs is not always clear from the presence of two distinct, synchronically meaningful components, it can be determined by the behavior of its vowels and by the placement of the negation morpheme. The vowels of the active verb that are contained in the final part of a compound undergo changes to derive inactive or past tense verbs or verbal nouns, as described later in this chapter in Section 8.3.1 and Section 8.3.3.3. Those that are part of an initial compounding element do not. Thus uncompounded faturani ‘spreads (something)’ has the verbal noun feturuṁ , with the first /a/ changed to /e/, while compounded huṣa-haḷani ‘proposes’ has the verbal noun huṣa-heḷuṁ , in which the first /a/ is left unchanged. The negative marker nu- immediately precedes the final element of the compound, as in (with loss of the /h/ and assimilation of the /u/) huṣa-nāḷani ‘does not propose’.

on the part of someone or something else is considered causative, even if there is no third argument (as in ‘causes to grow’). Thus both valence and the subject’s degree of agentivity are relevant.

The second dimension of derivation is the plain/honorific distinction. Honorific verbs are used when the subject of the verb (or the agent of the action, if it is an inactive verb whose subject is not the agent) is of high status. Most honorific verbs are derived from their plain counterparts, but a few are not (i.e., they are suppletive).

In the prototypical case, the two dimensions of valence/agentivity and honorific status together result in six derivationally related verbs, referred to here as siblings, though it can be hard to find attestations of all six siblings of a given family in a corpus.

A verb family based on the regular verb **hadanī** ‘makes’ is presented in Table 8.1, while the family of the extremely common but somewhat irregular verb **kurani** ‘does’ is presented in Table 8.2. The following subsections consider valence/agentivity and honorific verbs in more detail.

	Intransitive/ involitive/ inactive	Active	Causative
Plain	هَدَنِي hedenī ‘is made, grows’	هَدَانِي hadanī ‘makes’	هَدَدَانِي haddanī ‘causes to make, causes to grow’
Honorific	هَدَدَوْنِي heddevenī ‘is made (hon)’	هَدَدَاوْنِي haddavanī ‘makes (hon)’	هَدَدَاوْنِي haddavvanī ‘causes to make, causes to grow (hon)’

Table 8.1: Verb families: ‘make’

	Intransitive/ involitive/ inactive	Active	Causative
Plain	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kureveni ‘is done’	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kurani ‘does’	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kuruvani ‘causes to do’
Honorific	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kurevveni ‘is done (hon)’	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kuravvani ‘does (hon)’	ڪُڙو ڪُڙو kuravvavani ‘causes to do (hon)’

Table 8.2: Verb families: ‘do’

8.1.1 Valence and agentivity

As already mentioned, most Dhivehi verbs occur in derivational families, with inactive/involitive, active/volitive, and causative members. The inactive/involitive verbs, which Cain and Gair (2000) conveniently call *IN-verbs*, describe actions that are not volitionally performed (involitive) or do not have an agent as subject (inactive or passive). They are also used to express the ability to perform an action or to be in a particular state. This use of the IN-verbs to express abilities means that most Dhivehi verbs have an IN-form, even stative verbs that might not be expected to vary along the lines of agentivity (see Section 8.1.1.1 for stative verbs of existence and location). The active or volitive verbs (hereafter simply called *active* verbs) involve an agentive subject acting upon something or someone (whether explicitly named or not). *Causative* verbs are used when the subject is causing someone or something else to do something. Such verbs take the causer as a subject and retain the direct object of the active verb as their direct object, while the causee (the subject of the active verb) is expressed in a phrase headed by ڪُڙو ڪُڙو **lavvai** (see Section 12.2.1 for a discussion of verbal arguments).

In the typical case, there are triples of related verbs (IN, active, and causative), several examples of which are shown in Table 8.3. While the derivational relationships illustrated here are generally productive, some verbs lack a value on the valence/agentivity scale (see Section 8.1.1.1), and some verbs may actually have a fourth member of the family, that of IN-Causative, which is used for the passives of causative verbs, as in ڪُڙو ڪُڙو **jessenī** ‘is caused to be struck, is caused to be touching’.

Taking the active (middle column) forms of Table 8.3 as basic, the IN-verbs are derived by fronting all the stem /a/ vowels to /e/ (maintaining vowel length), but only insofar as the vowels are contained in a single stem—the vowels in the first element of a compound remain unaffected. Stem vowels in Dhivehi active verbs are often /a/ (long or short), but there are numerous exceptions, and those exceptional vowels do not change; thus the /u/ in the first syllable of ڪُڙو ڪُڙو **kurani** ‘does’ (Table 8.2) and of ڪُڙو ڪُڙو **gulani** ‘joins’ (Table 8.3) remains constant throughout the derivational family. In

IN-verb	Active verb	Causative verb
جھنہ jehenī ‘is struck, touches, happens’	جھانہ jahani ‘strikes, applies’	جھاسنہ jassani ‘causes to strike, arranges’
فہسنہ feṣeni ‘is begun’	فاہسنہ faṣani ‘begins (something)’	فاہٹسنہ faṭṭani ‘causes to begin’
گولہنہ guḷeni ‘is joined’	گولہنہ guḷani ‘joins’	گولہوانہ guḷuvani ‘causes to join’
لہنہ levenī ‘is put’	لانہ lani ‘puts’	لاوانہ lavvani ‘causes to put’

Table 8.3: Valence/agentivity triples

many or most cases, the vowel fronting is the only change, although some verbs, such as **کُرانی** *kurani* ‘does’, also add a **ہ** *-ev* to the root to derive the IN-verb. The addition of the **ہ** *-ev* is predictable in verbs whose active (non-honorific) stem is monosyllabic (as in **لانہ** *lani* ‘puts’), contains a geminate /nn/, or contains an /e/ as the thematic vowel; but it also occurs irregularly in certain other verbs. Examples of **ہ** *-ev* in IN-verbs are shown in Table 8.4. Many of these verbs, including those with monosyllabic active stems and those with /nn/ in their stems, are irregular in various other ways as well.

The *causative* forms are derived either by gemination or by affixation to the root. Generally, the last consonant of the root will geminate if that consonant is a geminatable consonant—that is, if it is a single consonant that is not **ر** *r*, **ل** *l*, **ڍ** *ḍ*, **ڻ** *ṇ*, or **ڙ** *y*.² As in the gemination (and palatalization) process described in Section 3.6.4, the geminate of a prenasalized stop is a full nasal-stop sequence, the geminate of /ʃ/ is /tʃ/, the geminate of /f/ is /pp/, and the geminate of /h/ is /ss/. In a few cases, geminate /nn/ appears to “geminate” as /nd/ or /dd/, but these are cases where the present-

² These ungeminateable consonants are the same set as those that do not geminate in the gemination and palatalization process described in Section 3.6.4, with the addition of **ڙ** *y*, which does not occur in the triggering environment for the gemination and palatalization process in Section 3.6.4.

IN-verb	Active or existential/locational verb
devenī ‘is given’	deni ‘gives’
devenī ‘can go’	dani ‘goes’
kevenī ‘is eaten’	kani ‘eats’
bunevenī ‘is said’	bunani ‘says’
hurevenī ‘is found/able to be (sitting)’	hunnani ‘is (standing)’
uļevenī ‘is found/able to be’	uļenī ‘is, lives’
kuļevenī ‘is played’	kuļenī ‘plays’
ādevenī ‘is able to come’	annani ‘comes’
nukumevenī ~	nukunnani ~
nikumevenī ‘is able to go out’	nikunnani ‘goes out’
belevenī ‘is looked at’	balani ‘looks’

Table 8.4: Verbs with -ev in IN-form

tense form actually contains /ñd/ or /d/ and not /nn/, so it is that /ñd/ or /d/ that is the source of the geminated /nd/, as discussed further at the end of this section.

Where gemination cannot apply, the causatives are formed by lengthening the root, adding **-uv** or sometimes **-av** before the thematic vowel. The thematic vowel of a causative verb will always be **a**, regardless of the final vowel of the active stem (unless the verb is an IN-causative). In a few cases, in verbs whose active stem is monosyllabic, both strategies (gemination and suffixation) are used, creating causatives such as **lavvani** ‘causes to put, joins’ to correspond with active **lani** ‘puts’. Verbs whose last stem consonant is **l** tend to have two possible forms, one with the geminate and one with the affix, as in the case of **balani** ‘looks’ in Table 8.5.

As Fritz analyzes it, the geminate and suffixing forms of the causative have the same origin historically: affixation of /-va/ to the active root. The /v/ would assimilate to the previous consonant in certain cases, creating a geminate; but after other consonants an epenthetic /u/ would be added before the /v/ (Fritz 2002: 170). The historical derivation cannot be all that is going on in the modern language, however, as

demonstrated by the cases like **lavvani** ‘causes to put, joins’, which use both the affixation and the gemination strategies, presumably in order to fit a preferred root shape for causative verbs.

Examples of active versus causative verbs are given in Table 8.5. In some cases the causative verbs have developed somewhat different meanings from the original simple causative of the active verb.

Active/transitive	Causative
deni ‘gives’	devani ‘causes to give’
lani ‘puts’	lavvani ‘causes to put, joins’
guḷani ‘joins’	guḷuvani ‘causes to join’
huṭṭani ‘stops’	huṭṭuvani ‘causes to stop’
hiṅgani ‘walks’	hinganī ‘causes to go, administers’
kiyani ‘reads’	kiyavani ‘studies’
balani ‘looks’	ballani ~ baluvani ‘causes to look’
kuḷeni ‘plays’	kuḷuvani ‘causes to play’
vihani ‘gives birth’	vissani ‘causes to be born/hatched’
kaṇḍani ‘cuts off’	kaṇḍuvani ‘dismisses’
faṣani ‘begins (something)’	faṭṭani ‘causes to begin’
hifani ‘grasps’	hippani ‘causes to stick on’
binnani ‘picks’	bindani ‘breaks, snaps’
vannani ‘enters’	vaddani ‘lets in’

Table 8.5: Causative verbs

While the relationships between siblings on the valence/agentivity scale are described in this section using the citation forms of the verbs, the relationship is sometimes more easily seen using the third-person present tense of the active verbs. Thus

the involitive **hureveni** ‘is able to be (sitting)’ is more obviously related to third-person active **hurē** ‘is (sitting)’ than to its citation form **hunnani**; geminated causative **bindani** ‘breaks, snaps’ is more obviously related to third-person active **biṇḍē** ‘picks’ than to its citation form **binnani**; and causative **vaddani** ‘lets in’ is more obviously related to third-person active **vadē** ‘enters’ than to citation **vannani**. These differences in stem consonants between third-person and citation forms occur in the n-stem verbs, presented in Section 8.3.1.

Families of verbs in which a vowel change marks the difference between the intransitive/inactive and the transitive (or “first causative”), and a /v/-containing suffix creates the causative (or “second causative”) are common in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 315–321; Kachru 2008: 87, 92). Sinhala and Dhivehi have both made the relationships between the members of the derivational verb families quite regular and thoroughgoing. The two Insular Indo-Aryan languages use the valence/agentivity categories in similar ways (Gair 2003: 785–786; Gair 1998 [1971]; Chandralal 2010: 52–53; Cain 1995).

8.1.1.1 Two-valence and existential/locational verbs

There are two sets of verbs that fill only two of the three values on the valence/agentivity scale. One of these sets lacks an active form. They are generally verbs of passive experience, such as seeing or receiving, or of actions that can be non-volitional or can be caused, but cannot be done volitionally, such as raining. The relationship between the IN-verbs and the causative verbs in these families is the same as that between IN-verbs and causatives generally; there is simply a missing sibling in the family. However, insofar as the active verbs are generally taken to be basic, with the IN-verbs and the causative verbs each derived from the active verbs rather than from each other, these verbs can be said to be formed as though an active verb existed. In other words, the IN-verbs can be created by fronting the /a/ vowels of the (nonexistent) active forms, and the causatives can be formed by gemination or suffixation of the same nonexistent active forms. Examples of these two-valence verbs are in Table 8.6.

The other set of verbs with a reduced valence/agentivity scale is that of existential and locational verbs. These verbs express existence, becoming, being located in a particular place, or being located in a particular place while being in a particular posture. These verbs are not particularly active or agentive in their meaning and therefore they do not entirely fit the derivational schema operative in most Dhivehi verbs. However, they do have derived IN-verb forms, used in their ability-marking role and in a meaning that translates as ‘found to be’ or ‘finds one’s self to be’ that suggests that the state is accidental or surprising. The existential and locational verbs in their non-IN forms straddle the active/inactive divide that separates other verbs. Unlike true IN-verbs they have person-marked finite forms, and some of their senses are more active or volitional

IN-verb	Causative
دکړي dekenī 'sees'	دکړوي dakkani 'shows, pays'
ځي eṅgenī 'is known'	ځوي āngani 'informs'
رڼوي ufedenī 'is founded'	رڼوي ufaddani 'founds, produces'
لري libenī 'is received'	لري libbani 'supplies'
نهي nimenī 'is finished'	نهي nimmani 'finalizes, decides'
وړي vehenī 'rains'	وړي vessani 'causes rain'
وري ivenī 'hears'	وري ivvani 'announces'

Table 8.6: Two-valence verbs

than others (thus **ḥunnani** ‘is standing’ can mean ‘waits’ and **innani** ‘is sitting’ can mean ‘marries’). However, their perfect forms tend to look like IN-verb perfects (for which see Section 8.3.3.2). Existential and locational verbs often do not have causative forms.

Existential and locational verbs are shown in Table 8.7. The last verb in the table, the inherently plural **تِبْنِي** *tibnī* ‘are located’, does have a causative, **تِبْنِي** *tibbani* ‘fixes, sets’, but with some difference in meaning.













IN-verb	Existential/Locational/Postural
 veveni ‘is able to be’	 vani ‘is, becomes’
 uleveni ‘is able/found to be/live’	 uleni ‘is, lives’
 indeveni ‘is able/found to be sitting/married’	 innani ‘is sitting, marries’
 oveveni ‘is able/found to be lying’	 onnani ‘is lying’
 hureveni ‘is able/found to be standing’	 hunnani ‘is standing’
 tiveni ‘are able/found to be located’	 tibenī ‘are located’

Table 8.7: Existential and locational verbs

8.1.2 Honorific verbs

Verbs play a major role in the Dhivehi honorific system. Honorific verbs are used when talking about high-status individuals. High honorific verbs are used to speak about the highest status people, such as scholars, judges, sheikhs, members of parliament, and government officials. Mid-level honorific verbs are used to speak about people of lesser but still elevated status, such as one’s parents and members of the military. In many cases mid-level and high honorific verbs are the same, but not always. The use of honorific verbs is not dependent on the status of the person one is speaking *to* but rather on the status of the subject of the verb (or the agent of the action of a passive verb). Thus Dhivehi verbs express referent honorifics but not addressee honorifics (though in second-person contexts the person spoken about and the person spoken to are the same, so second-person verbs may be honorific). In this sense honorific verbs are unlike the first-person deferential pronouns that are specifically used when speaking *to* such high-status individuals. Honorific verbs are never used in the first person—the honorific system does not allow one to elevate one’s self. The system of honorific verbs in Dhivehi is to the best of my knowledge unique among Indo-Aryan languages in be-

ing historically based on causative morphology rather than plural morphology. The reason for the association of causative morphology with honorific verbs would appear to be that the ability to cause others to act is associated with high status. (See Section 4.3 for an introduction to the honorific system.)

There are a couple of different types of honorific verbs. The first type consists of the morphologically derived ones. These are historically related to causatives (Fritz 2002: 170–171) and are created by what is basically a reapplication of causative derivation to causative verbs (i.e., they are morphologically speaking double causatives). For example, to create the honorific of **guḷani** ‘joins’, one first takes its causative, **guḷuvani** ‘causes to join’. The final consonant of the causative stem is then geminated, to give **guḷuvvani** ‘joins (hon)’. If the causative was formed by gemination, then gemination cannot apply again, so the affixation version of the process applies instead. Thus the honorific of **faṣani** ‘begins (something)’ is **faṭṭavani** ‘begins (hon)’ via the causative **faṭṭani** ‘causes to begin’. The one difference between the honorific and the causative suffixation is that the honorific suffix is more usually /-av/ while the causative suffix is more often /-uv/, as seen in the contrast between **kuruvani** ‘causes to do’ and **kuravvani** ‘does (hon)’. This is not a hard-and-fast rule, however. Examples of morphologically derived honorific verbs are given in Table 8.8 (in addition to those already given in Table 8.1 and Table 8.2).

For some verbs, such as **lani** ‘puts’, the causative form and the honorific of the transitive form are the same: **lavvani**. The verb **gendani** ‘takes away’ is also exceptional, in that its causative is **genduvani** and the honorific is **gendavani**.

Honorific verbs may themselves appear in the causative form, leading to forms with three layers of causative morphology, such as **kuravvavani** ‘causes to do (hon)’ or **devvavani** ‘causes to give (hon)’, with three applications of the historical causative morphology (the two that create the honorific meaning plus one more). In the case of two-valence verbs, however, the honorific of the causative receives only one more instance of causative morphology (for a total of two), rather than the total of three of three-valence verbs. Thus the honorific of the two-valence causative **nimmani** ‘finalizes, decides’ (causative of **nimeni** ‘ends, is finished’) is simply **nimmavani**. The locational/postural verbs which have /nn/ in their stems (listed in Table 8.7) also have only one causative morpheme in their (active) honorific form, as they lack a causative form in the non-honorific. Thus the honorific of **onnani** ‘is lying’ is **onnavani** ‘is lying (hon)’.

The honorific form of IN-verbs is created by fronting the /a/ vowels of the active honorific to /e/. Thus active honorific **kuravvani** ‘does (hon)’ becomes IN-verb honorific **kurevveni** ‘is done (hon)’, which would be used to describe an action done by a high-status person.

Plain active	Honorific active
deni ‘gives’	devvani ‘gives (hon)’
guḷani ‘joins’	guḷuvvani ‘joins (hon)’
nereni ‘puts out, issues’	neruvvani ‘puts out, issues (hon)’
balani ‘looks’	ballavani ‘looks (hon)’
ahani ‘listens, asks’	assavani ‘listens, asks (hon)’
hovani ‘selects’	hovvavani ‘selects (hon)’
hiṅgani ‘walks’	hingavani ‘walks (hon)’

Table 8.8: Morphological (double causative) honorific verbs

A second type of honorific verbs consists of those which are suppletive, that is, they have different stems from their corresponding plain verbs. This is true of the most basic verbs of motion, those for ‘go’ and ‘come’, which are not distinguished from each other in their honorific forms, as shown in Table 8.9. Another verb with a suppletive form as a high honorific is bunani ‘speaks’, though its mid-level honorific is morphologically derived (though somewhat irregularly so, as there is no gemination of the stem /n/). However, none of the verbs in the bunani family is used in reference to God. When God speaks, the verb used to describe it is vaḥi-kuravvani , which literally means ‘reveals (hon.)’. Insofar as the verb retains its meaning of ‘reveals’ as opposed to simply ‘speaks’, this verb is not an actual part of the bunani derivational family, but it illustrates how the suppletive honorific forms may have arisen. If used consistently as the verb of speech for God, over time it may come to be only a special divine honorific verb meaning ‘speaks’. Using a special verb for other

honorific categories of agents in an analogous way could lead over time to suppletive honorific verbs.

The suppletive honorific verbs are summarized in Table 8.9, in which hyphens in the Romanization show the internal structure of compounds (information useful for creating negatives and IN-verbs). In the high honorific column, the longer form (with the va-) is more common for ‘come’ and ‘go’.

Plain	Mid-level honorific	High honorific
annānī ‘comes’	duruṽvānī ‘comes/goes (hon)’	vaḍai-gannavānī ~ vaḍai-gannānī ‘comes/goes (high hon)’
danī ‘goes’		
bunānī ‘speaks’	bunuvvānī ‘speaks (hon)’	vidāḷu-vānī ‘speaks (high hon)’

Table 8.9: Suppletive honorific verbs

A further type of honorific verb is created by compounding the basic verb (in its converb form, for which see Section 8.3.3.1) with one of a small number of honorific verbs. Such verbs are exemplified in Table 8.10. These verbs are mostly verbs of passive experience (knowing, receiving, hearing, which are also two-valence verbs), verbs of being, or verbs of motion. These types of verbs differentiate mid-level honorifics from high-level honorifics, while in certain verbs a special compounding element is used only for verbs relating to God. Some verbs have morphological (double-causative) forms for mid-level honorifics, but compounded forms for high-level honorifics and/or for God. The high-honorific compounding element vaḍai-gannavānī (from the high honorific meaning ‘come/go’) is sometimes also found in a shorter form, without the -va- , as vaḍai-gannānī .

The compounding strategy of adding lavvānī ‘puts (hon)’, shown in Table 8.10 for several mid-level honorifics, is quite freely available to other verbs as well, as the verb lānī ‘puts’ (and its honorific lavvānī ‘puts (hon)’) is often used as a compounding element (see Section 11.2.1.1). The particular thing about the verbs shown in Table 8.10 is that this is the only generally used mid-level honorific for these particular verbs.

Plain	Mid-level honorific	High honorific	Divine honorific
^ٲ ٲٲٲٲٲ gannanī ‘buys, gets’	^ٲ ٲٲٲٲٲ gane-lavvanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲٲٲ ballavai-gannavanī	
^ٲ ٲٲٲ vanī ‘is, becomes’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ ve-lavvanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ ve-vaḍai-gannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ voḍigen-vanī
^ٲ ٲٲٲ dekenī ‘sees’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ deke-lavvanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ deke-vaḍai-gannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ deke-voḍigen-vanī
^ٲ ٲٲٲ libenī ‘receives’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ libi-lavvanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ libi-vaḍai-gannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ libi-voḍigen-vanī
^ٲ ٲٲٲ dannanī ‘knows’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ dannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ dene-vaḍai-gannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ dene-voḍigen-vanī
^ٲ ٲٲٲ nukunnanī ‘goes out’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ nukunnavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ nukume-vaḍai-gannavanī	
^ٲ ٲٲٲ vannanī ‘enters’	^ٲ ٲٲٲ vannavanī	^ٲ ٲٲٲ vade-vaḍai-gannavanī ~ vede-vaḍai-gannavanī	

Table 8.10: Compounding honorific verbs

8.2 Inflectional classes

For the purposes of inflection (conjugation), Dhivehi verbs can be divided into four basic classes, following Cain and Gair (2000). These are shown in Table 8.11.

The first and most common class is the *a-stem verbs*, made up of those verbs whose thematic vowel is /-a/ but which are not monosyllabic and whose stem does not contain the geminate /nn/. The thematic vowel is the stem-final vowel just before the ^ٲٲٲٲ-**nī** of the citation form. The majority of active verbs and all causative verbs are in the a-stem class, since their thematic vowel is /-a/. The finite inflections of a-stem verbs are given in Section 8.3.1.1.

Class	Definition	Example 1	Example 2
a-stem	thematic vowel is /a/; root does not end in /nn/; stem is not monosyllabic	ܠܗܕܢܝ hadanī ‘makes’ (active)	ܠܗܪܘܒܢܝ kuruvanī ‘causes to do’ (causative)
e-stem	thematic vowel is /e/; stem is not monosyllabic	ܠܗܦܫܢܝ feṣenī ‘is begun’(IN-verb)	ܠܗܠܥܝܢܝ kuḷenī ‘plays’ (active)
n-stem	stem contains /nn/	ܠܗܝܬܢܢܝ gannanī ‘buys, takes’(active)	ܠܗܢܢܢܝ hunnanī ‘is standing’ (locational)
monosyllabic stem	stem is monosyllabic	ܠܗܝܢܝ vanī ‘is, becomes’	ܠܗܕܢܝ denī ‘gives’

Table 8.11: Inflectional classes

The second class, the *e-stem verbs*, is made up of those verbs whose thematic vowel is /-e/. This e-stem class includes virtually all of the IN-verbs (defined in Section 8.1.1), which constitute the majority of verbs in this category. A minority of e-stem verbs are active, however, such as ܠܗܠܥܝܢܝ **kuḷenī** ‘plays’ and ܠܗܢܪܝܢܝ **nerenī** ‘puts out, publishes’. The finite inflections of e-stem verbs are given in Section 8.3.1.2.

The third class, known as *n-stem verbs*, consists of verbs whose root ends in geminate /nn/, as well as to some extent the irregular verb ܠܗܝܬܢܢܝ **bunanī** ‘says’. The verbs in this class tend to be irregular, but some generalizations can be made about them as a class. Their finite inflections are given in Section 8.3.1.3.

The fourth class contains verbs whose stems are *monosyllabic*. These are high-frequency irregular verbs. The finite inflections of monosyllabic-stem verbs are given in Section 8.3.1.4.

8.3 Verbal inflections

When verbs are inflected, they may be finite, medial (or participial), or nonfinite. Finite verbs inflect for tense, mood, or aspect, and usually for person (all verbs that inflect for person are finite, and arguably all finite verbs inflect for person, as explained further in the next paragraph). Participles inflect only for tense, mood, or aspect, never for

person. Nonfinite verbs do not undergo any further verbal inflection (though they may take negative concord or, in the case of verbal nouns, noun inflection).

Person marking in active verbs clearly distinguishes the first person, marked by the suffix ʔ-**-m̩**, from the third person, which displays a long thematic vowel in the present tense and a final ʔ-**-e** in the future tense. Prescriptive grammar works in Dhivehi (Ahmad 1970, Jameel 1970) call for a ʔ-**-mu** suffix in the first-person plural and in the second-person singular and plural, distinct from the first-person singular ʔ-**-m̩**. In common contemporary usage, however, the ʔ-**-mu** has come to be regarded as a “fancy” form of ʔ-**-m̩** and may also be used for first-person singular as well as for the first-person plural and the second person in writing.

The situation with the contemporary colloquial second person is more complicated. Cain and Gair (2000: 24) report that it is simply ʔ-**-m̩**, like the first person. Fritz (2002) reports that in the standard Malé dialect the second-person singular is the same as the third person, but that the second-person plural takes ʔ-**-mu**. This confusion as to the second person probably stems from a variety of factors, including the avoidance of second-person pronouns by speakers of the standard dialect, dialectal differences, the absence of any person marking in the many types of non-finite verbs as well as in IN-verbs, and the presence of a prescriptive norm at variance with colloquial usage. A further factor appears to be at work, however. Lum (n.d.) reports that second-person forms actually differ between questions and statements.³ Thus in a question (the form of the second person most easily elicited) second-person subjects take the same verbal agreement as first-person subjects. In a statement, second-person subjects take the same verbal agreement as third-person subjects. However, given the (presumably conservative) evidence of the prescriptive grammars, further work is needed to determine whether all speakers of all ages follow this pattern for second persons, either in Malé or elsewhere. Because of the variability of the second-person forms, they are not explicitly included in the tables of verb inflections presented in this chapter. Instead, second persons in questions should be understood to be identical to first persons, while second persons in statements should be understood to be identical to third persons. It should be noted that when speakers use a name or noun phrase to avoid using a pronoun, the verb will be in the person that matches the discourse context, rather than the apparent third person of the name or noun phrase. Although this results in no difference in second-person statements, second-person questions and first-person utterances show the effect (see 6.11 and 12.122 for examples).

IN-verbs do not vary in their person marking. As explained in more detail in Section 8.3.1.3, however, finite IN-verbs and personless participles are not identical, so I consider finite IN-verbs to be invariably third person rather than to lack person mark-

³ Because of this, Lum (n.d.) considers Dhivehi to exhibit “conjunct-disjunct” verbal marking rather than person agreement *per se*. While not all my own fieldwork data aligns with all of what he presents in his paper, the distinction he makes between second-person questions and second-person statements makes sense of some otherwise puzzling data.

ing. Verbs in the imperative, hortative, and optative moods (all of which are described in Section 8.3.4 below) also do not vary in their person marking. This is because they do not vary in person—imperatives are invariably second person, optatives are invariably third person⁴ and hortatives are invariably first person (plural). (The function of these moods is explained further in Section 8.3.4.1.) Thus one may make the generalization that finite verbs in Dhivehi show person inflection.

The *tense* inflections are past, present, and future. The past tense is characterized by changes in the stem vowels, and the future tense is characterized by lengthening of the last stem vowel (the thematic vowel), as shown in the upcoming tables.

Dhivehi uses suffixes to distinguish two *aspects*, a progressive and a perfect, from the default aspect, which is not morphologically marked. Their formation is discussed in Section 8.3.2.1 and Section 8.3.3.1. The present progressive form of a verb is used as the citation form for the purposes of this work. The default aspect is used for simple present, simple past, and simple future, the basic finite verb inflections. The default aspect tends to have a habitual sense, especially in the present tense, as it also does in English (e.g., *I sing* as opposed to progressive *I am singing*). Further aspects are created periphrastically, by the use of auxiliaries, as described in Section 11.3.1.

Beyond the basic (unmarked) indicative mood, Dhivehi marks the potential (Section 8.3.4.2), irrealis (Section 8.3.4.3), imperative (Section 8.3.4.1), and hortative (Section 8.3.4.1) *moods*, as well as a special optative mood used only for God (Section 8.3.4.1).

8.3.1 Finite indicative verbs

Finite verbs occur in main clauses. In Dhivehi, finite verbs may *only* occur in main clauses, and there may be no more than one finite verb in a sentence. Generally speaking, finite verbs inflect for person, and in the indicative mood they are generally inflected for both tense and person. An apparent exception is the IN-verbs, which are arguably always in the third person.

No inflections for gender occur in Dhivehi verbs (or elsewhere in the language), while inflection for number also does not occur in the modern colloquial language. Finite verbs show some person marking, however, in that first person (and second person in questions) are distinguished from third person. The suffix marking first person (and second person in questions) is 𑤀- -𑤁. Because of the neutralization of word-final /m/ to [ŋ], the first person ending is indistinguishable from /n/ in most contexts; however, in written Dhivehi verbs are often followed by the sentence-ending particle

⁴ Note, however, that what is termed *optative* in this grammar is not the same mood as that which Cain and Gair (2000) call *optative*, which is actually the potential mood. See Section 8.3.4.1.

هـ- **-eve**, and in such contexts the /m/ is written as such, i.e., هـ. The presence of a quotative particle (see Section 9.1.2) will also reveal the underlying form of the first person and distinguish it from the infinitive (presented in Section 8.3.3.4). In literary contexts one may also occasionally encounter the archaic/literary person marking هـ- **-mu**. This suffix applies to first-person plural and second person (both singular and plural), while first-person singular continues to be marked as هـ- **-m** even in literary registers, according to traditional prescription (Ahmad 1970, Jameel 1970). However, in actual practice use of هـ- **-mu** for first-person singular is also attested in contexts where speakers want to sound “fancy.”

This section presents the inflections of indicative verbs in the morphologically unmarked aspect, in other words, in the simple past, simple present, and simple future.

8.3.1.1 A-stem verbs

The finite indicative inflections of *a-stem verbs* are shown in Table 8.12, exemplified by هـ **hadanī** ‘makes’ and هـ **kuranī** ‘does’. هـ **hadanī** ‘makes’ is a regular verb, while هـ **kuranī** ‘does’, in the right-hand column, is an extremely common verb that is somewhat irregular (as shown in the third-person present form). As mentioned in Section 3.6.6, final long هـ- **-ā** and هـ- **-ē** in verbs shorten before the sentence-ending particle هـ- **-eve**. Thus هـ **hadā** ‘make.PRS.3’ and هـ **kurē** ‘do.PRS.3’ are usually found in shortened form in formal written texts, as finite verbs occur last in a written sentence. The first-person past forms ending in هـ- **-im** are found in speech and many genres of writing. However, high literary style calls for a long vowel, creating forms such as هـ **hedīm** ‘made’. Prescriptive literary style also calls for the هـ- **-mu** person marking in the first-person plural and second person, creating هـ **hedīmu** in the past tense and هـ **hadamu** in the present. The final /u/ of a verb marked with هـ- **-mu** does not delete before هـ- **-eve**, despite the usual deletion of /u/ in this context. For simplicity, only the non-literary first person form is shown in the tables.

The past-tense forms of *a-stem verbs* show replacement of the present-tense /a/ thematic vowel with /i/ and fronting of all other /a/ vowels to /e/.

Citation Form (Present Progressive)	هَدَانِي hadanī 'makes'	كُرَانِي kurani 'does'
1st Person Present	هَدَانِ hadan	كُرَانِ kuran
3rd Person Present	هَدَا hadā	كُرَ kurē
1st Person Future	هَدَانَا hadānā	كُرَانَا kurānā
3rd Person Future	هَدَانِ hadāne	كُرَانِ kurāne
1st Person Past	هَدَيْتُ hedī	كُرَيْتُ kurī
3rd Person Past	هَدَى hedi	كُرَى kuri

Table 8.12: a-stem verbs

8.3.1.2 E-stem verbs

The finite indicative inflections of e-stem verbs are shown in Table 8.13. Most e-stem verbs are IN-verbs (defined in Section 8.1.1), such as **feṣenī** ‘begins (intransitive), is begun’, shown on the left. The most typical IN-verbs do not vary in person marking; being inactive, they are not things that people can do (although they may be things that may be done *to* people or experienced *by* people); when they do take first- or second-person subjects, those subjects are not acting with agency. Such non-agentive subjects usually do not trigger subject agreement.⁵

Some verbs, such as **dekenī** ‘sees’, shown in the middle column of Table 8.13, occupy a middle ground between typical IN-verbs and active verbs. A verb like **dekenī** ‘sees’ is in some sense an IN-verb, since seeing is not a volitional activity. However, it is like the active verbs in allowing human subjects that can trigger first-person agreement. Note also that **dekenī** ‘sees’ is irregular in its inflection in the

⁵ In some cases, when the subjects are passive experiencers or involuntary actors, rather than voluntary actors, they are marked with the dative case. “Dative subjects,” as they are known, do not agree with their verbs. In other cases, when something is happening to the subject, the subject is in the direct case but still does not trigger person agreement. For more on the use of IN-verbs and their subjects, see Section 12.4.

Citation form (present progressive)	فَشَنِي feṣenī 'is begun'	دَكَنِي dekenī 'sees'	كُلَنِي kuḷenī 'plays'
1st person present	—	دَكَمْ dekem	كُلَمْ kuḷem
3rd person present	فَشَ feṣē	دَكَ dekē	كُلَ kuḷē
1st person future	—	دَكَنَامْ dekēnam	كُلَنَامْ kuḷēnam
3rd person future	فَشَنِي feṣēne	دَكَنِي dekēne	كُلَنِي kuḷēne
1st person past	—	دُشِمْ duṣim	كُلُونِمْ kuḷunim
3rd person past	فَشُونُو feṣunu	دُشِي duṣi	كُلُونُو kuḷunu

Table 8.13: e-stem verbs

past tense.⁶ Furthermore, its third-person past form also participates in the gemination and palatalization process, becoming دُشِي **duṣi**-eve with the addition of -eve.

A few e-stem verbs are not IN-verbs at all, such as كُلَنِي **kuḷenī** 'plays', shown in the rightmost column. Such verbs are active verbs whose thematic vowel happens to be /e/. They show some differences in inflection from other e-stem verbs as a result, one of these being the consistent presence of person marking, as shown in Table 8.13. Another active e-stem verb is نَرَنِي **nerenī** 'pushes out, issues'. The existential/location verbs اُولَنِي **uḷenī** 'is, lives' and تِبَنِي **tibenī** 'are (located)' also take person marking.

As in other verbs, final long -ē vowels shorten before sentence-final -eve.

8.3.1.3 N-stem verbs

The *n-stem verbs*, whose stems contain a geminate /nn/ before their thematic vowel, display a great deal of irregularity in their past tense and third-person present. Some representative common n-stem verbs are shown in Table 8.14, while the n-stem verbs

⁶ The expected third-person past, دَكُونُو **dekunu**, means 'south'. It is reportedly used as an alternative third-person past by some younger speakers.

that are verbs of location and posture are in Table 8.15.⁷ As with other verbs, the long \bar{e} -vowels of the third-person present (and the diphthong of the third-person past of annani ‘comes’) shorten before \bar{e} -**eve**.

The verb fennani ‘sees, is seen’ is inflected like the IN-verbs, to which class it belongs semantically, although most IN-verbs have /e/ as their thematic vowel. As an IN-verb it has no overtly person-marked forms (and it takes a “dative subject”). The finite forms are distinct from participles, however, as the finite present is fenē , and the present participle is fenna . The formation of the finite present matches that of the third-person present of other n-stem verbs. One can say, then, that the finite IN-verbs are invariably third person rather than lacking person. As an IN-verb, fennani forms its third-person past in \bar{e} -**unu**. The final /u/ of such a third-person past ending is deleted in writing before the sentence-ending particle \bar{e} -**eve**.

Some n-stem verbs have a phonologically unusual third-person past form, of which vannani ‘enters’ provides an example in Table 8.14. Its third-person past (and past participle) is spelled vañ , but is pronounced [vẽɪʔ], as though spelled vatñ . The nasalization here is unusual, in that generally speaking only interjections are permitted to contain a nasalized vowel that is not followed by a nasal consonant. Interjections that contain a nasalized vowel indicate the nasalization with sr ‘empty noonu’ (a *noonu* without a vowel sign or a *sukun*), but these irregular verb forms use sr ‘noonu-sukun’ as though there were a full nasal consonant. Other verbs with such a third-person past/past participle form include bannani ‘binds, builds’ and annani ‘dons, puts on (clothing)’ (homophonous in its citation form with annani ‘comes’, which has the third-person past/past participle form ai).

The locational/postural n-stem verbs are shown in Table 8.15. Before \bar{e} -**eve**, the third-person past of hunnnani ‘is standing’ (in Table 8.15) is huṭṭ-eve , via the gemination and palatalization process triggered by a vowel-initial suffix (Section 3.6.4), which applies to the literary/historical form huṣi . The gemination and palatalization process is not regular in verbs, but does apply to some of them. The locational/postural verbs are often used in the past tense, as discussed further in Section 12.6.

As the tables show, there is a great deal of irregularity in the n-stem verbs, particularly in the last stem consonant of the third-person present and the past tense. Other n-stem verbs include konnani ‘digs’ and gennani ‘brings’, which have /n/ in their third-person present tense; binnani ‘picks’ and bannani ‘binds, builds’, which have /ñd/ in their third-person present tense; and sr

⁷ The locational/postural n-stem verbs in Table 8.15 encode both the fact of being somewhere and that of being in a particular posture—standing, sitting, or lying down. For the usage of these verbs, see Section 11.3.1 and Section 12.6.

nukunnani ‘goes out’ (sometimes attested as **nikunnani**), which has /m/ in its third-person present tense.

Citation form (present progressive)	اننانه annanī	فننانه fennanī	واننانه vannanī	گاننانه gannanī
	‘comes’	‘is seen’	‘enters’	‘buys, gets’
1st person present	اننام annam	---	واننام vannam	گاننام gannam
3rd person present	آده ādē	فنه fenē	واده vadē	گانه ganē
1st person future	اننانام annānam	---	واننانام vannānam	گاننانام gannānam
3rd person future	اننانه annāne	فننانه fennāne	واننانه vannāne	گاننانه gannāne
1st person past	ايم aim	---	وانيم vanim	گاتيم gatim
3rd person past	اي ai	فenu fenunu	وان vañ [vẽi?]	گات gat

Table 8.14: n-stem verbs

The irregular verb **bunanī** ‘speaks, says’ behaves somewhat like an n-stem verb despite its /n/ not being geminate; its third-person present is **بانه**, with the final **-ē** characteristic of the class. It is also irregular in that it undergoes the gemination and palatalization process before **-eve**, becoming **buññ-eve** in the third-person past.

Citation form (present progressive)	هَنَنْنَانِي hunnani 'is standing'	هَنَنْنَانِي innani 'is sitting'	هَنَنْنَانِي onnani 'is lying'
1st person present	هَنَنْنَانِي hunnaṁ	هَنَنْنَانِي innaṁ	هَنَنْنَانِي onnaṁ
3rd person present	هَنَنْنَانِي hurē	هَنَنْنَانِي iṇḏē	هَنَنْنَانِي ovē
1st person future	هَنَنْنَانِي hunnānaṁ	هَنَنْنَانِي innānaṁ	هَنَنْنَانِي onnānaṁ
3rd person future	هَنَنْنَانِي hunnāne	هَنَنْنَانِي innāne	هَنَنْنَانِي onnāne
1st person past	هَنَنْنَانِي hurim	هَنَنْنَانِي inim	هَنَنْنَانِي otim
3rd person past	هَنَنْنَانِي huri ~ huṣi	هَنَنْنَانِي iṇ	هَنَنْنَانِي ot

Table 8.15: n-stem locational/postural verbs

8.3.1.4 Monosyllabic-stem verbs

The monosyllabic-stem verbs in Dhivehi are a small class of common, fairly irregular verbs. Shown in Table 8.16 are three of the most frequent verbs of the language, هَنَنْنَانِي **vani** 'is, becomes, happens', هَنَنْنَانِي **lani** 'puts', and هَنَنْنَانِي **deni** 'gives'. In the case of هَنَنْنَانِي **vani** and هَنَنْنَانِي **lani** 'puts', the third-person past tense forms are often lengthened, avoiding verbs that consist of a single light (CV) syllable. The shorter forms also occur, however. All of the verbs in Table 8.16 are common as verbalizing elements in noun-verb compounds, discussed in Section 11.1, while هَنَنْنَانِي **vani** 'is, becomes, happens' is also used as an auxiliary and a modal (Section 11.3), and هَنَنْنَانِي **lani** 'puts' and هَنَنْنَانِي **deni** 'gives' are used as light verbs in verb-verb compounds (Section 11.2.1.1). When هَنَنْنَانِي **vani** is used as an auxiliary or a modal, or in the creation of IN-verbs (see Section 11.1), it does not use the first-person forms shown in the table.

Three further common monosyllabic-stem verbs are given in Table 8.17. Additional monosyllabic-stem verbs are هَنَنْنَانِي **roni** 'cries' and هَنَنْنَانِي **heni** 'laughs'.
























Citation form (present progressive)	 vanī 'is, becomes'	 lanī 'puts'	 denī 'gives'
1st person present	 vaṁ	 laṁ	 deṁ
3rd person present	 vē	 lā	 dē
1st person future	 vānaṁ	 lānaṁ	 dēnaṁ
3rd person future	 vāne	 lāne	 dēne
1st person past	 viṁ	 liṁ	 diniṁ
3rd person past	 vi ~  vī	 li ~  lī	 diṅ

Table 8.16: Common monosyllabic-stem verbs






















Citation form (present progressive)	 danī 'goes'	 kanī 'eats'	 bonī 'drinks'
1st person present	 daṁ	 kaṁ	 boṁ
3rd person present	 dē	 kai	 boi
1st person future	 dānaṁ	 kānaṁ	 bōnaṁ
3rd person future	 dāne	 kāne	 bōne
1st person past	 diyaiṁ	 keiṁ	 buiṁ
3rd person past	 diya	 kē	 bui

Table 8.17: More monosyllabic-stem verbs

8.3.2 Participles

Participles are forms of verbs that inflect for tense but not person and are often used in Dhivehi to modify nouns. Dhivehi participles occur in present, future, and past forms, unlike English, which has only present and past participles (as in *breaking* and *broken*, the present and past participles of the verb *break*).

In most cases the participles look just like third-person forms, but there are a number of exceptions among present participles, particularly in the n-class of verbs and the monosyllabic-stem verbs, as well as in some other irregular verbs such as ފަންނަނީ **kurani** ‘does’. The result of these exceptions is to make present participles more regular than third-person present finite verbs. N-stem verbs regularly have present participles that end in ހަ -**a** but are quite irregular in their third-person present finite forms. As for the other differences between present participles and third-person present verbs, they are usually that the present participle ends in ހަ - **ā** when the third-person present might be expected to but does not. Thus the third-person present of ފަންނަނީ **kurani** ‘does’ is ފަންނަ **kurē**, but its present participle is ފަންނަ **kurā**. Similarly, the third-person present of monosyllabic ވަނީ **vani** ‘is, becomes’ is ވަ **vē**, but the present participle is ވަ **vā**. The same principle applies to ދަނީ **dani** ‘goes’ and ބުނަނީ **bunani** ‘speaks, says’. There is thus a difference between a third-person finite verb and a personless participle, despite the fact that relatively few verbs express the difference overtly.

It is important to remember that although participles often look like third-person finite forms, they are also used with first (and second) person subjects in participial clauses.

	a-stem	n-stem	e-stem	monosyllabic
Citation form	ހަދަނީ hadani ‘makes’	ހުނަނީ hunvani ‘stands, is’	ފަންނަނީ feṣeni ‘is begun’	ދަނީ deni ‘gives’
Present participle	ހަދަ hadā	ހުނަ hunna	ފަންނަ feṣē	ދަ dē
Future participle	ހަދާނަ hadāne	ހުނާނަ hunvāne	ފަންނާނަ feṣēne	ދަނާ dēne
Past participle	ހަދި hedi	ހުދި huri	ފަންނަނު feṣunu	ދަނު dīn

Table 8.18: Participles

Participles are used to modify nouns, as discussed in Section 10.3; to form adverbial clauses, as described in Section 13.4; and to form progressive aspect verbs, as in Section 8.3.2.1. The participles of some typical verbs are shown in Table 8.18.

High literary style calls for a long final vowel in future participles, as in **hadānē** ‘will make (PTCP)’. The same prescription does not apply to third-person future finite verbs, perhaps because in written style verbs are sentence-final and such a long vowel would be shortened before the sentence-final **-eve** anyway.

8.3.2.1 Progressive aspect and focus verbs

The progressive aspect is a commonly used form of the verb in Dhivehi that indicates an action or state that is, was, or will be ongoing (depending on its tense). The progressive forms are derived from participles, and in fact Fritz (2002) calls them “long forms” of participles. Like regular participles, these verb forms inflect for tense but do not inflect for person. Thus they may be more accurately called *progressive participles*. Despite their lack of person marking, however, progressive participles may be used as the main verb in a sentence in combination with a subject of any person.

The “long participle” form is used for focus verbs as well, which may also serve as the main verb in a sentence. Focus verbs occur earlier in the sentence than the verb’s canonical final position, and they draw attention to a focused element that is placed afterwards (see Section 12.5 for a discussion of focus).

Focus verbs and progressive participles are identical in form. If a verb in the focus/progressive form is not final in its clause, it is a focus verb. If it is final, it is a progressive participle. Since a focus verb already has the same inflection as a progressive verb, it is not possible to differentiate between the progressive and the default aspect of the simple past/present/future in focus verbs.

The progressive or focus verbs, shown in Table 8.19, end in **-nī** or **-ī**. The present progressive, future progressive, and e-stem past progressive forms end in **-nī**, while the past progressive of a-stem, n-stem and most monosyllabic-stem verbs end in **-ī**. Since a final long **-ī** vowel (unlike **-ā** or **-ē**) does not shorten before **-eve**, the difference between past progressives and third-person past tense finite verbs that end in **-ī** is not obscured at the end of a written sentence.

The present progressive/focus form is the citation form used for verbs in this grammar.

	a-stem	n-stem	e-stem	monosyllabic
Present	هَدَانِي hadanī 'makes'	هَنْنَانِي hunnanī 'stands, is'	فَعَّسَنِي feṣenī 'begins, is begun'	دَنِي denī 'gives'
Future	هَدَانِي hadānī	هَنْنَانِي hunnānī	فَعَّسَنِي feṣēnī	دَنِي dēnī
Past	هَدَى hedī	هَنَّى hurī	فَعَّسَ feṣunī	دَنَى dinī

Table 8.19: Progressive/focus verbs

8.3.2.2 Suffixed forms of participles

Two suffixes whose exact functions are rather hard to pin down occur with present participles.

The first of these is **-nivi**, which attaches to a present participle whose final vowel (if originally long) is shortened.⁸ The resulting word functions as an adjective. The most common use of this suffix is in the expression **annanivi**, which makes present participle **anna** 'coming' specifically mean 'the following' in a piece of text. Other uses seem to provide a sense of possibility, somewhat like *-able* does in English. Examples of this use are **i'āda-kuranivi** 'renewable' (from **i'āda-kurā** 'renewing') and **demeheṭṭenivi** 'sustainable' (from **demeheṭṭē** 'being drawn out').

The other suffix, **-lek**, makes a word with some of the properties of a gerund, or verb form that functions like a noun. In most instances, it is the verbal noun (see Section 8.3.3.3) that is used as a noun that refers to the action of a verb. However, participles with **-lek** are used to refer specifically to the manner in which the action is done, as in **kurālek** 'way of doing', from **kurā** 'doing'. These **-lek** forms behave as nouns (or noun phrases) in that they fill the role of a subject in a clause or sentence, but they do not take any further inflection. See Section 12.1.1 for more on the use of these gerunds.

⁸ Alternatively, the suffix is **-vi** and it attaches to the long form/focus form of the participle, whose final vowel is also shortened.

8.3.3 Nonfinite verbs

The nonfinite (uninflecting) verb forms include verbal nouns, infinitives, and converbs. These do not inflect for either tense or person (but see Section 8.3.3.2 for the person-inflecting perfect).

8.3.3.1 Converbs

The *converb*, short for “conjunctive verb,” is a kind of non-inflecting verb that is typical of South Asian languages. Many terms for this kind of verb exist, including “absolute” (Fritz 2002, Reynolds 2003), “conjunctive participle” (Masica 1991) and (somewhat confusingly) “present participle” (Cain and Gair 2000). Dhivehi, like other South Asian languages, allows only one fully inflected (finite) verb in a sentence. Other verbs in a sentence are subordinate to that main, finite verb. The converb is one of the major ways of expressing that subordination, as discussed further in Chapter 11 and Section 13.1. Converbs are often translated as ‘having X’ed’ in a word-for-word translation, but in actual use there are a number of possible translations, depending on the specific sentence.

Converbs are shown in Table 8.20 through Table 8.24, along with the perfect forms, which are discussed below in Section 8.3.3.2. As shown in Table 8.20, the converbs of a-stem verbs usually end in ފަހަލަ -**ai**, but the verb ފަހަލަ **kurani** ‘does’ is an exception. However, before the particle ފަހަލަ -**fai** (whose use is described in Section 8.3.5), the ފަހަލަ -**ai** of an a-stem converb becomes ފަހަލަ -**ā**, so that, for example, the converb of ފަހަލަ **hadani** ‘makes’ is usually ފަހަލަ **hadai** but in suffixed form is ފަހަލަ **hadā-fai**.⁹ The same change occurs before the various forms of the verb ފަހަލަ **lani** ‘puts’, which is commonly used in compound verbs (see Section 11.2.1.1). That the resulting forms ending in ފަހަލަ -**ā** are converbs and not participles (as the final vowel might suggest) is demonstrated by the continued use in such contexts of converbs that do not end in ފަހަލަ -**ai**, such as the e-stem converbs and the irregular ފަހަލަ **koṣ** ‘do.CNV’. Occasionally an ފަހަލަ -**ā** converb will be used even in the absence of ފަހަލަ -**fai** or ފަހަލަ **lani** ‘puts’, and in such cases comparisons with syntactically similar sentences with other converbs (like ފަހަލަ **koṣ** ‘do.CNV’) can help to distinguish these converbs from participles.

The converbs of e-stem verbs, as shown in Table 8.21, differ in form depending on the valence/agentivity of the verb. Generally speaking, the converbs of IN-verbs end

⁹ From a historical perspective this looks like dissimilation, but as the successive ފަހަލަ -**fai** is nowadays pronounced simply as ފަހަލަ -**fa** or ފަހަލަ -**fā**, it is no longer so in the modern language.

	a-stem, regular	a-stem, irregular	a-stem, irregular
Citation form	هَدَانِي <i>hadānī</i> 'makes'	كُرَانِي <i>kurānī</i> 'does'	لَيَانِي <i>liyānī</i> 'writes'
Converb	هَدَاي <i>hadai</i>	كُوْش <i>koṣ</i>	لَيَاي <i>liye</i>
Perfect 1st person	هَدَايْتُمْ <i>hadaifim</i>	كُوْشْتُمْ <i>koṣfim</i>	لَيَايْتُمْ <i>liyefim</i>
Perfect 3rd person	هَدَايَ <i>hadaifi</i>	كُوْشَ <i>koṣfi</i>	لَيَايَ <i>liyefi</i>

Table 8.20: Converbs and perfects, a-stem

in *-i*, while the converbs of active and existential or locational e-stem verbs end in *-e*.¹⁰ Both endings are attested for the experience verb *dekenī* 'sees'.

The converb of an IN-verb looks like the third-person past or past participle of the related active a-stem verb, a potential source of confusion for learners. Thus, for example, *jehi* can be either the third-person past tense/past participle of *jahani* 'hits' or the converb of *jeheni* 'is hit'. Converbs often appear with the suffixed particle *-fai* or *-geñ*, however, while past tense verbs do not. The presence of one of these particles always signals a converb. These particles, which Cain and Gair (2000) call "successive particles" position the action or state referred to by the converb earlier in time than the main verb, as described further in Section 8.3.5 and Section 13.1.1.

The n-stem verbs, as usual, are quite irregular, as shown in Table 8.22 and Table 8.23. A few end in *-s*. The most common pattern is for them to end in *-e*, but the consonant before that may not be the same as the one in the citation form. It is, however, generally the same as in the third-person present-tense form of the verb. In fact, it is common for n-stem converbs to be identical to third-person present finite verbs with the exception of the final vowel, which will be short in the converb and long in the present tense verb. However, the shortening of verb-final *-ē* before *-e* obscures this contrast in writing. The particles *-fai* and *-geñ*, when they are used, unambiguously identify the converb. As mentioned earlier, the verb

¹⁰ An exception is the verb *edenī* 'asks', which takes person marking but is usually (though not invariably) treated like an IN-verb in its converb and perfect, and in taking the honorific compounding element *vaḍai-gannavani*.

	e-stem, IN-verb	e-stem, active	e-stem, existential
Citation form	فەشەن <i>feşenî</i> 'begins, is begun'	کۆلەن <i>kūlenî</i> 'plays'	ئۆلەن <i>ūlenî</i> 'exists, lives'
Converb	فەش <i>feşi</i>	کۆلە <i>kūle</i>	ئۆلە <i>ūle</i>
Perfect 1st person	—	کۆلەفیم <i>kūlefim</i>	ئۆلەفیم <i>ūlefim</i>
Perfect 3rd person	فەشێجە <i>feşijje</i>	کۆلەفی <i>kūlefi</i>	ئۆلەفی <i>ūlefi</i>

Table 8.21: Converbs and Perfects, e-stem

bunanî 'speaks, says' behaves in some ways like an n-stem verb. Thus its converb is **bune**, ending in *-e*.

	n-stem	n-stem	n-stem	n-stem
Citation form	ئەننەن <i>annanî</i> 'comes'	گەننەن <i>gannanî</i> 'buys, gets'	گەننەن <i>gennanî</i> 'brings'	گەننەن <i>vannanî</i> 'enters'
Converb	ئەن <i>ais</i>	گەن <i>gane</i>	گەن <i>genes</i>	گەن <i>vade</i>
Perfect 1st person	ئەنەفیم <i>aisfīm</i>	گەنەفیم <i>ganefīm</i>	گەنەفیم <i>genesfīm</i>	گەنەفیم <i>vadefīm</i>
Perfect 3rd person	ئەنس <i>aisfi</i>	گەنەفی <i>ganefi</i>	گەنس <i>genesfi</i>	گەنەجە <i>vadejje</i> گەنەفی <i>vadefi</i>

Table 8.22: Converbs and perfects, n-stem, active

The converbs of monosyllabic-stem verbs are also irregular. A selection are given in Table 8.24.

The converb of the special honorific compounding element **vaḍai-gannavanî** 'comes/goes (hhon)', which is described in Section 8.1.2 and illustrated in

	n-stem, postural	n-stem, postural	n-stem, postural	n-stem, IN-verb
Citation form	هَنَّانِي ḥunnani 'is standing'	وَنَّانِي ʔnnani 'is lying'	يَنَّانِي innani 'is sitting, marries'	فَنَّانِي fennani 'is seen'
Converb	هْرَ hure	وْرَ ove	يَرْ iñde	فَرْ feni
Perfect 1st person	هَرَّجَّيْتُمْ hurejjaiṁ ~ هَرَّفْتُمْ hurefṁ	وَرَّجَّيْتُمْ ovejjaiṁ ~ وَرَّفْتُمْ ovefṁ	يَرَّجَّيْتُمْ iñdejjaṁ ~ يَرَّفْتُمْ iñdefṁ	---
Perfect 3rd person	هَرَّجَّيَ hurejje ~ هَرَّفِيَ hurefi	وَرَّجَّيَ ovejje وَرَّفِيَ ovefi	يَرَّجَّيَ iñdejje ~ يَرَّفِيَ iñdefi	فَرَّجَّيَ fenijje

Table 8.23: Converbs and perfects, n-stem, locational/postural and IN-verb

	monosyllabic, stative	monosyllabic, active	monosyllabic, active	monosyllabic, active
Citation Form	وَانِي vani 'is, becomes'	دَانِي dani 'goes'	دَانِي deni 'gives'	وَانِي lani 'puts'
Converb	وْ ve	يْ gos	دْ dī	وْ lai
Perfect 1st Person	وَرَّجَّيْتُمْ vejjaṁ	يَرَّجَّيْتُمْ gosṁ	دَرَّجَّيْتُمْ difiṁ	وَرَّجَّيْتُمْ laifiṁ
Perfect 3rd Person	وَرَّجَّيَ vejje	يَرَّجَّيَ gosfi	دَرَّجَّيَ difi	وَرَّجَّيَ laifi

Table 8.24: Converbs and perfects, monosyllabic stem

Table 8.10, is **vaḍai-geñ**, using an older converb of **gannanī** ‘takes’ (which is also the historical source of the successive particle **-geñ**). The converb of the special divine honorific compounding base is **voḍigeñ**. To be used as a finite verb, it must form a compound with **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’, and thus the finite verb is recorded in Table 8.10 as the compound **voḍigeñ-vani**. Morphologically (as opposed to suppletively) formed honorific verbs are regular a-stem verbs, and therefore regularly form their converbs with **-ai**. There is thus a difference between regular verbs whose stems end in **-va** (such as honorifics and causatives) and the verb **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’ and compounds based on it. For example, the verb **kuruvani** ‘causes to do’ has the regular converb **kuruvai**, while **vidālu-vani** ‘speaks (honorific)’ being a compound, has the converb **vidālu-ve**.¹¹

8.3.3.2 Converbs and the perfect tense/aspect

For historical reasons the converb serves as the base from which to create verbs in the *perfect* or ‘recent past’, a tense/aspect combination that implies that an action performed in the past still has present relevance. It can more or less be translated as an English present perfect (e.g., *I have gone*), but its use in Dhivehi also extends to written stories, in which it is used to lend an immediacy to the narrative. Because they are formed from converbs, the perfect verbs are shown along with the converbs above in Table 8.20 though Table 8.24. There is no separate inflection for tense in perfect verbs, unlike in English *I have gone* (present perfect) versus *I had gone* (past perfect). Such a combination of perfect aspect with tense is done periphrastically in Dhivehi, using auxiliary verbs, as discussed in Section 11.3.1.1.

In active verbs, the perfect is formed by the suffixation to the converb of **-fi** (third person) or **-fim** (first person). The high literary register uses **-fim** for first-person singular and **-fimu** for second person and first-person plural, analogous to the situation in the past finite verbs.

IN-verbs and certain other verbs add **-jje** to the converb. Since true IN-verbs do not inflect for person, these verbs do not show a first person form of the **-jje** perfect. However, some verbs have a range of senses that differ in volitionality and agentivity. For example, the verb **vani** ‘is, becomes’, though not having an e-final stem and sometimes using person marking, is in many of its uses an inactive verb and usually forms its perfect with **-jje**: **vejje**. However, this perfect sometimes has a first person, **vejjaim**, used in more active or agentive contexts. Some

¹¹ Although **vidālu-vani** ‘speaks (honorific)’ is honorific, it is inherently honorific (as a suppletive verb paired with non-honorific **bunanī** ‘speaks’), not honorific by virtue of having honorific derivational morphology.

other verbs may also describe either the agentive actions of humans or the nonagentive action of an inanimate object. Thus **hiṅgani** ‘walks, is going’, though it does not have an e-final stem, may describe a non-agentive action such as a clock “going” or the agentive action of a person walking. Similarly, a verb like **vannani** ‘enters’ has both agentive and non-agentive senses. Such verbs usually take **-jje** but may also take **-fi(m̐)**. However, if a verb can take **-jje** (apparently by virtue of being an IN-verb in at least some uses), but it can also be agentive, then it can also take the first person **-jjaim̐** (or its lengthened literary equivalent **-jjaim̐**) when describing a person’s volitional action. This yields, for example, **hiṅgajjaim̐** for ‘I have walked’. Many of the n-stem verbs, including the locational/postural n-stems, fall into this category (as shown in Table 8.23).

The formation of the perfect from the converb is otherwise quite regular, but in addition to the regular perfect of **annani** ‘comes’, there exists **atu-vejje**, which is the regular perfect of **atu-vani** ‘arrives’, but is often used suppletively as a perfect of **annani** ‘comes’.

The person inflection on perfects seems to contravene the principle that converbs do not inflect. What is actually happening is that perfect forms are created by compounding the converb with an inflecting verb in the past tense. In the modern language, however, this inflecting verb (discussed further in Section 8.3.4.2) only exists when compounded with other verbs. **-fi** is its past tense, its converb is the successive particle **-fai**, and its future tense is the potential suffix **fāne**, discussed in Section 8.3.4.2. In forming the perfect, the **-fi** adds a finite element to the converb, and the result is a finite verb. Like other verbs, however, **-fi** (and **-jje**) has a participle form that looks like the third-person form. Thus **-fi** and **-jje** also serve to make perfect participles, used in some conditional and concessive clauses (see Section 13.4.1).

A particular style of traditional Dhivehi story telling uses a special form of the perfect when combined with the quotative particle **-ē** or the sentence-ending particle **-eve** (for which see Section 9.1.2 and Section 9.1.1 respectively). The perfect in such cases is **-fū** where it would otherwise be **-fi** (in active verbs), leading to forms such as **govai-fū-ē** ‘call.CNV-PRF-QUOT (has called)’ or **koṣ-fū-eve** ‘do.CNV-PRF-END (has done)’. It is **-jjaū** where it would otherwise be **-jje**, yielding forms such as **tibe-jjaū-eve** ‘are (located).CNV-PRF-END (have been located)’.

8.3.3.3 Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns are nouns that are derived from verbs and refer to actions or states. Regular verbal nouns can be derived from the past participle/third-person past forms by replacing everything after the final consonant of the root with the suffix **-um̐**. The

verbal nouns of a-stem and e-stem verbs are almost entirely regular in their derivation, as shown in Table 8.25. One exception is **viheum** ‘giving birth’, the verbal noun of **vihani** ‘gives birth’.

The formation of n-stem verbal nouns is also largely regular, as exemplified in Table 8.26 and Table 8.27. Deriving the verbal nouns from the past-tense forms gets the correct vowels and the correct root-final consonant, which is otherwise unpredictable in n-stem verbs. In the case of **ai** (past of **annani** ‘comes’, shown in Table 8.26) where there is no root-final consonant, the verbal noun is derived by replacing the final **-i** with **-um**; this also applies to **gennani** ‘brings’.

	a-stem, regular	a-stem, irregular	e-stem, IN-verb	e-stem, active
Citation form	هَدَانِي hadanī ‘makes’	كُرَانِي kuranī ‘does’	فَعَسَنِي fešenī ‘begins, is begun’	كُلَّعَنِي kuḷenī ‘plays’
Past participle	هَدَى hedī	كُرَى kūrī	فَعَسَنُو feṣunu	كُلَّعَنُو kuḷunu
Verbal noun	هَدُومٌ heduṃ	كُرومٌ kuruṃ	فَعُومٌ feṣuṃ	كُلُّومٌ kuḷuṃ

Table 8.25: Verbal nouns: a-stem, e-stem

	n-stem	n-stem	n-stem	n-stem
Citation form	أَنَّانِي annanī ‘comes’	يَكُنَّانِي gannanī ‘buys, gets’	يَكُنَّانِي gennanī ‘brings’	يَكُنَّانِي nukunnanī ‘go out’
Past participle	أَنَّ ai	كَانَ gaṭ	كَانَ genai	كَانَ nukuṭ
Verbal noun	أَوْمٌ auṃ	كَاتُومٌ gatuṃ	كَانُومٌ genaṃ	كَانُومٌ nukutuṃ

Table 8.26: Verbal nouns: n-stem

	n-stem, postural	n-stem, postural	n-stem, postural	n-stem, IN-verb
Citation form	هَنَّانِي hunnani 'is standing'	وَنَّانِي onnani 'is lying'	يَنَّانِي innani 'is sitting'	فَنَّانِي fennani 'is seen'
Past participle	هَرِي huri	وَتِي otī	يَتِي itī	فَنُونُو fenunu
Verbal noun	هَرُومٌ hurum	وَتُومٌ otum	يَتُومٌ inum	فَنُومٌ fenum

Table 8.27: Verbal nouns: n-stem, part 2

	monosyllabic	monosyllabic	monosyllabic	monosyllabic
Citation form	وَانِي vanī 'is, becomes'	لَانِي lanī 'puts'	دَانِي danī 'goes'	دَانِي denī 'gives'
Past participle	وِي ~ vī	لِي ~ lī	دِيَا diya	دِيْن dīn
Verbal noun	وُومٌ vum	لُومٌ lum	دِيُومٌ ~ diyum	دِيُومٌ dinum

Table 8.28: Verbal nouns: monosyllabic stem

The monosyllabic-stem verbs are quite irregular in the formation their verbal nouns. Some examples are given in Table 8.28. Further monosyllabic-stem verbal nouns include **keyum** 'eating' (from **kanī** 'eats', whose past tense is **kē**), **hunum** 'laughing' (from **henī** 'laughs', whose past tense is **hunu**), and **revum** 'shitting' (from **renī** 'shits', whose past tense is **runu**, according to Reynolds 2003). The monosyllabic-stem verbs whose stem vowel is /o/ are unlike any other verbs in that their verbal nouns do not end in **-um**. The verbal noun of **bonī** 'drinks' is **buium** 'drinking' (with past tense **bui**), and the verbal noun of **ronī** 'cries' is **ruim** 'crying' (with past tense **rui**).

Because verbal nouns are actually nouns, they may then be given noun case marking or other noun morphology as appropriate to their use in a given sentence (for which see Section 10.6).

Verbal nouns are very common in Dhivehi. They are used in ways similar to English gerunds (such as *running* in *Running is a healthy sport*) and some uses of English infinitives (e.g., *to prevent* in *efforts to prevent war*). They are also used in contexts where English would use a derived nominal (such as *destruction*, derived from the verb *destroy*).

In traditional Dhivehi lexicography the verbal noun is the citation form of the verb, but since the verbal noun of an active verb is often the same as the verbal noun of the related IN-verb (because of the vowel change), this does not uniquely identify most verbs. Thus **feṣuṁ** **ފެސުމު** ‘beginning’ is the verbal noun of both the transitive verb **faṣaṇi** **ފަސަނި** ‘begins (something)’ and the intransitive verb **feṣeṇi** **ފެސެނި** ‘begins, is begun’. Furthermore, the verbal noun does not identify which vowels that are **e** in the verbal noun are **a** in the active verb and which are exceptionally **e** in the active verb as well. Thus faced with a verbal noun **neruṁ** **ނެރުމު** ‘putting out’, one might expect the active verb ***naraṇi** **ނަރަނި** rather than the actual **nereni** **ނެރެނި** ‘puts out’.

The honorific verb **vaḍai-gannavanī** **ވަޑައިގަންނަވާނި** ‘comes/goes (hon)’ forms its verbal noun as though the second element of its compound is **gannani** **ގަންނަނި** ‘buys, gets’, without the **-va-** (which is sometimes omitted in the finite forms as well, but not usually). Thus its verbal noun is **vaḍai-gatuṁ** **ވަޑައިގަތުމު**.

8.3.3.4 Infinitives

The Dhivehi infinitive is the form of the verb that is used in combination with certain other verbs, such as those that express a change of state (like ‘start’ and ‘stop’), intention, or obligation (for the combination of infinitives with finite verbs, see Section 11.3.2). Infinitives end in **-ṇ** **ނ** and thus often look like first-person present forms, whose underlying /m/ will also be spelled **ṇ** in word-final positions. However, infinitives occur in the context of other verbs, while first-person present forms may stand alone.

Monosyllabic infinitives have long vowels. Infinitives of verbs other than the monosyllabic ones usually have short vowels in their final syllable, but in high literary registers the last vowel of such infinitives is also long. Thus **kurāṇ** **ކުރާނ** ‘to do’ is considered fancier than the normal **kuraṇ** **ކުރަނ**. Otherwise, the formation of infinitives as compared to the citation present progressive is fully regular, as shown in Table 8.29.

However, while infinitives are regular in their formation and do not take person or tense marking, they do undergo a certain amount of allomorphy from other causes. Before a vowel-initial suffixing particle (the sentence-final particle **-eve** **އެވާ**, the quotatives **-ē** **އެ** and **-ō** **އޯ**, or the coordinating **-āi** **އަދި**, all of which are discussed further in Chapter 9), an infinitive lengthens its last vowel and replaces the final **-ṇ** **ނ**

	a-stem	n-stem	e-stem	monosyllabic
Citation form	ހަދާނި hadanī 'makes'	ගަންނާނި gannanī 'buys, gets'	ފެށެނި feṣenī 'begins, is begun'	ލާނި lanī 'puts'
Infinitive	ހަދާނު hadan̄	ගަންނާނު gannan̄	ފެށެނު feṣen̄	ލާނު lan̄

Table 8.29: Infinitives

with **-s**. Thus ފެށެނު **annān̄** 'to come' will be written sentence finally as ފެށެނު **annāṣ-eve**, will be quoted as ފެށެނު **annāṣē**, will be reported as ފެށެނު **annāṣō**, and will be co-ordinated with another infinitive or with a verbal noun as ފެށެނު **annāṣāi**. Similarly, the e-stem infinitive ފެށެނު **uḷen̄** becomes ފެށެނު **uḷeṣeve** sentence finally. In a negative context an infinitive may occur in a negative-concord form, ending in ލަ- **-kaṣ̄**. In this negative-concord form, the infinitive of a-stem ހަދާނު **hadanī** 'makes' is ހަދާނު **hadākaṣ̄** 'to make', and the infinitive of e-stem ފެށެނު **feṣenī** 'is begun' is ފެށެނު **feṣēkaṣ̄** 'to be begun'. The n-stem and monosyllabic verbs are also regular in this regard, yielding negative-concord infinitives such as ގަންނާނު **gannākaṣ̄** 'to buy' and ލާނު **lākaṣ̄** 'to put' (for more on negative concord, see Section 12.7).

8.3.4 Non-indicative moods

Thus far the verb forms discussed have not been marked for mood, and may be considered indicative forms. Dhivehi does mark a few moods with verbal suffixes or particles: the imperative, the hortative, the divine optative, the potential, and the irrealis.¹² These are finite verbs.

¹² Because Dhivehi is a suffixing as well as a verb-final language, it is not always clear whether a suffix or particle is attaching to a verb specifically or to a clause of which that verb is the final lexical member. It is also the case that words other than verbs (specifically negation particles and adjectives) may also function as predicators in Dhivehi, so some suffixes/particles attach to the predicating word, not necessarily the verb. I have attempted to select only those mood-indicating suffixes/particles that attach specifically to verbs. Thus the conditional, the concessive, and the interrogative suffixes/particles are not covered here but are discussed in Chapter 9, Section 12.8.1 and Section 13.4.

8.3.4.1 Imperative, hortative, and optative moods

The imperative, hortative, and optative moods are all means of bringing about a particular state or action that the speaker desires. The *imperative* marks commands, instructions, and requests. The *hortative* urges the listener to join the speaker in some activity, analogous to *Let's ...* in English, while the *optative* expresses a wish that an action would take place, as in *May God bless you*. Dhivehi optatives are only found in honorific verbs, as this type of construction is reserved for what one wants God to do.

The imperatives, hortatives, and optatives are shown in Table 8.30, using the verb **kurani** 'does' as an example. Although **kurani** 'does' is somewhat irregular (though not in its simple imperative), it is a useful verb for illustration purposes, as its third-person singular, its present participle, and its converb are all clearly distinct, and all are relevant to imperative constructions. It is also an extremely common verb.

The imperatives have a number of different forms, as shown in Table 8.30. The basic imperative is used for direct commands and is the same as the third-person present, except in the case of **dī** 'give!', imperative of **deni** 'gives', for which the third-person present is **dē**. Thus the basic imperative of **kurani** 'does' is **kurē** 'do!', the same as the third-person present.

However, as shown in Table 8.30, when an imperative is quoted or repeated (as in, *I said, "Do it!"*), it takes a quotative suffixing particle, **-ē**. The quotative particle does not attach to the basic imperative but rather to a form that looks like the suffixed infinitive presented in Section 8.3.3.4, in which the infinitive's final **n** becomes **ṣ** before vowel-initial particles. Thus a quoted or repeated imperative of **kurani** 'does' is formed by suffixing **-ē** to **kurāṣ** instead of to **kurē**, so that the quoted or repeated imperative of **kurani** 'does' is **kurāṣē** "'do!'". Similarly, when in final position in a written sentence an imperative takes the sentence-final particle **-eve**, which also attaches to what appears to be the suffixed form of the infinitive (with **ṣ**).¹³ For more on the quotative and sentence-final particles, see Section 9.1.1 and Section 9.1.2). Carrying these vowel-initial particles, these quoted or sentence-final imperatives look like infinitives.

The suffixed imperative, with **-ti** added to the present participle, is used for general instructions and advice (such as *Work hard in school!*) as opposed to the direct and immediate commands of the basic imperative.¹⁴ Adding the quotative or sentence-

¹³ The origin of this alternation may be in a related imperative, formed with the suffix **-ṣe**, which is reported by Cain (2000b: 250), Fritz (2002: 185), and Reynolds (2003: 411). However, in the modern language the **-ṣe** imperative is restricted to poetry. By contrast, the **-ṣ**-forms used before vowel-initial particles are alive and well in the colloquial language.

¹⁴ M. W. Sugathapala De Silva (1970) states that in negative imperatives, bare imperatives carry the sense of 'stop doing' and **-ti** imperatives carry the sense of 'do not begin to do'. Speaker judgments that I have gathered tend to confirm this distinction but are not conclusive. De Silva analyzes the Dhivehi imperatives as having grammaticalized a perfective vs. imperfective distinction (M. W. Sugathapala De Silva 1970: 152–153), though considering the

final particle triggers the gemination and palatalization process (Section 3.6.4) in the **-ti** (along with shortening of the long vowel), yielding forms with **-cc-**. These **-cc-** forms are also used in the absence of quotatives or **-eve** for polite general advice.

Compounded imperatives are also used, built by compounding the converb of the basic verb with **bala** and/or **dī**. **bala** is historically derived from the verb **balanī** ‘looks’, but is now specific to imperatives. Used without **dī**, it is a fairly polite but direct command (as opposed to instruction or advice). **dī** is the imperative and the converb form of the verb **denī** ‘gives’. **denī** ‘gives’ is often used in combination with other verbs, as described further in Section 11.2, to imply that the subject of the verb (and hence the one being requested to act in an imperative) is doing something for someone else. It is thus used to make requests.

A special imperative form is used to make requests of God. It adds **-ñdē** to the present participle of an honorific verb. Its written form is **-ñdēve**.

IN-verbs, by their nature as involitive/inactive, do not have imperative forms, but other e-stem verbs do. The generalizations already stated also apply to them: the basic imperative is the same as the third-person present, the quoted or repeated imperative looks like an infinitive, the suffixed imperative can be derived from the present participle (though this is the same as the third-person present in e-stem verbs), and the compounded imperatives are formed with the converb.

The hortative adds **-ā** to the first-person present form of the verb. The verb **hiñgā**, the imperative of ‘walk’ may be added to the end of a hortative but is not obligatory. Like other imperatives, **hiñgā** acquires **š** before the sentence-final **-eve**.

The divine optative is based on the present participle of an honorific verb, to which **-ši** is added. In written form, **-eve** is also added.

-ti forms future imperatives and the bare forms present imperatives may have the same effect.

Mood	Verb form
Citation form	کُرانی <i>kurānī</i> ‘does’
Basic imperative—spoken	کُر <i>kurē</i>
Basic imperative—quoted or repeated	کُرَاشَ <i>kurāṣē</i>
Basic imperative—written (sentence final)	کُرَاشَهِ <i>kurāṣeḥ</i>
Suffixed imperative	کُرَاتِ <i>kurāti</i>
Suffixed imperative—quoted, repeated, or general advice	کُرَاصَّ <i>kuraccē</i>
Suffixed imperative—written (sentence final)	کُرَاصَّهِ <i>kuracceḥ</i>
Compound imperative	کُوشَ-بَالَا ~ کُوشَ-دِی-بَالَا
Compound imperative—quoted or repeated	کُوشَ-بَالَاشَ ~ کُوشَ-دِی-بَالَاشَ
Compound imperative—written (sentence final)	کُوشَ-بَالَاشَهِ ~ کُوشَ-دِی-بَالَاشَهِ
Divine imperative—spoken	کُرَاصَّو <i>kuravvāndē</i>
Divine imperative—written (sentence final)	کُرَاصَّوهِ <i>kuravvāndēḥ</i>
Hortative—spoken	(کُرَامَ) <i>kuramā</i> (hiṅgā)
Hortative—written (sentence final)	کُرَامَهِ <i>kuramā</i> hiṅgāṣeḥ
Divine optative	کُرَاصَّوَشِ <i>kuravvāṣi</i> (honorific)
Divine optative—written (sentence final)	کُرَاصَّوَشَهِ <i>kuravvāṣiḥ</i> (honorific)

Table 8.30: Imperatives, hortatives, optatives

8.3.4.2 Potential mood

The *potential mood*, or the possibility that something might happen or be done, is marked with **-fāne** in the third-person active, with **-fānaṁ** in the first person active, and with **-dāne** in IN-verbs, as shown in Table 8.31.¹⁵ **-fāne** and **-fānaṁ** are remnants (the third-person and first-person future) of an obsolete verb, ***fiani**, which Fritz reconstructs as having meant ‘to put, set, place; close, shut’ (Fritz 2002: 225), while Cain and Gair suggest it meant ‘cover’ (Cain and Gair 2000: 43).¹⁶ While this verb does not occur as a full verb in modern Dhivehi, various of its inflections remain as verbal formatives, the other such remnants being the perfect **-fi** (its past tense) and the successive particle **-fai** (its converb). Because of its former status as a full verb, constructions using **-fāne**, **-fi**, and **-fai**, resemble compounds, with the **f-** initial particle added to the converb form of the main verb. Thus they create what appear to be converb-verb compounds. They are included in this chapter rather than in Chapter 11, however, because the verb ***fiani** is so fully obsolete as to not even be attested in historical documents (Fritz 2002: 225); it thus has no real relevance to the present-day language. Also, when negated these verbs behave as single verbs (with the negative particle at the very beginning) rather than compounds (in which the negative particle precedes the final element). The verbal formatives that remain from this verb are therefore referred to here as suffixing particles.

The **-dāne** which forms the IN-verb potential is derived from the future tense of the verb **dani** ‘goes’. However, it does not take negation as a full verb would. Thus it also seems to have become disassociated from its originating verb.

Both the **-fāne** (for active verbs) and the **-dāne** (for IN-verbs) are added to the converb of a verb. The status of the converb as a converb is made clear in a case like **koṣ-fāne** ‘might do’, the potential of **kurani** ‘does’, given that **kurani** has such a distinctive converb. However, because they have a final element that is finite, potential verbs are finite and may be used as the main verb in a sentence. They also have participial forms (which look like the third-person forms).

In a-stem verbs there is some variation in the form the converb takes. Normally such a converb ends in **-ai**, but this usually becomes **-ā** in certain combinations (before forms of **lani** ‘puts’ and before **-fai**). This change usually (but not invariably) also occurs before **-fāne**/**-fānaṁ**. However, if the penultimate

¹⁵ Cain and Gair (2000) refer to the potential mood as the optative and do not cover what is called the divine optative in this grammar. However, traditionally the term *optative* is used to describe verb forms that express the speaker’s wish, as defined for example in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 179), and it is used accordingly in this grammar. Fritz (2002: 231) terms the forms ending in **-dāne** *potential*, as does this work, though she does not consider the **-dāne** and **-fāne**/**-fānaṁ** forms together.

¹⁶ The asterisk in ***fiani** in this context means that the word is inferred as having existed but is not actually attested in any preserved records.

syllable of the converb is heavy (it has a long vowel or is closed by a consonant), then the converb is shortened so as to end in a short **-a**. Thus **hiṅgani** ‘walks’, with a converb of **hiṅgai**, with a light first syllable (since prenasalized stops do not add to syllable weight), has the potential form **hiṅgāfāne** (or sometimes **hiṅgaifāne**) with a long vowel before the **-fāne**. But **hingani** ‘administers’, with a converb of **hingai**, which has a heavy first syllable, has a potential form **hingafāne** with a shortened vowel before the **-fāne**. This shortening avoids three heavy syllables in a row.

Examples of the various converbs being used to create third-person potentials are in Table 8.31. The first-person potentials are the same except that they end in **-fānaṁ**.

Stem type	Citation form	Converb	Potential
a-stem, regular, light syllable	ހިންގަނި hiṅgani 'walks'	ހިންގަ hiṅgai	ހިންގަ ފާނެ ~ hiṅgā-fāne 'might walk'
a-stem, regular, heavy syllable	ހިންގަނި hiṅgani 'makes go, administrators'	ހިންގަ hiṅgai	ހިންގަ ފާނެ hiṅgā-fāne 'might administer'
a-stem, irregular	ކުރަނި kuranī 'does'	ކޯ koṣ	ކޯ ފާނެ koṣ-fāne 'might do'
e-stem, IN-verb	ލިބަނި libenī 'receives'	ލިބި libi	ލިބި ފާނެ libi-dāne 'might receive'
e-stem, active	ނަރަނި nerenī 'put out'	ނަރެ nere	ނަރެ ފާނެ nere-fāne 'might put out'
n-stem	ގަންނަނި gannanī 'buys, gets'	ގަންނަ gane	ގަންނަ ފާނެ gane-fāne 'might buy'
monosyllabic	ދަނި denī 'gives'	ދި dī	ދި ފާނެ dī-fāne 'might give'

Table 8.31: Potentials

8.3.4.3 Irrealis mood

The irrealis mood in Dhivehi is used to describe counterfactuals: things that would have happened under other circumstances but did not in fact happen. These situations are expressed with *would have* in English (as in, *If you had asked nicely, I would have done it for you*).¹⁷ The irrealis can be derived by adding ސ -s to the past progressive form of the verb. However, unlike actual progressive forms, the irrealis takes person marking, which is inserted before the ސ -s. Thus first-person irrealis forms

¹⁷ Forward-looking 'would' (as opposed to backward-looking 'would have'), as in *I would do it if you asked nicely*, is expressed simply with the future tense in Dhivehi.

end in $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**mus**. As person-marked verbs, these irrealis forms are finite and can serve as the main verb in a sentence. As with other instances of words ending in $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**s**, when irrealis verbs occur at the end of a written sentence, before $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**eve**, the $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**s** becomes $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ **h**, yielding sentence-final words such as $\text{ـ}^{\text{و}}$ **kurih-eve** ‘would have done.END’. Examples of irrealis mood verbs are in Table 8.32.












Stem type	Citation form	1st person irrealis	3rd person irrealis
a-stem	 kurānī ‘does’	 kurīmus ‘would have done’	 kurīṣ ‘would have done’
e-stem	 libenī ‘receives’	—	 libunīṣ ‘would have received’
n-stem	 hunnānī ‘is (standing)’	 hurīmus ‘would have been’	 hurīṣ ‘would have been’
monosyllabic	 denī ‘gives’	 dinīmus ‘would have given’	 dinīṣ ‘would have given’

Table 8.32: Irrealis mood

8.3.4.4 Prospective irrealis

A somewhat different application of the irrealis suffix, which one may call the *prospective irrealis* or subjunctive, is used in subordinate clauses to describe actions or states that have not yet happened at the time being spoken of. Such constructions translate as ‘before’ or ‘not yet’, as in English *Before a month had gone by...* or, *A month not yet having gone by...*, or *Before this bill is put to a vote....* The prospective irrealis is formed by adding what is arguably the irrealis سـ -s suffix to the present progressive form of the verb and by putting the verb in the negative form with the prefixing negative particle نـ **nu-** (for which see Section 8.4). Examples are in Table 8.33, where the prospective irrealis form of آید **annanī** ‘comes’ illustrates the assimilation of the negative particle to a vowel-initial verb, discussed further in Section 8.4.

The use of a negative irrealis construction for this meaning is interesting. One can speculate that it originated in a construction that meant 'lest' or 'in order for it not to happen', as in the *before* in *Stop him before he does that*. However, its meaning is now






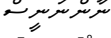


Stem type	Citation form	Prospective irrealis
a-stem	 kurani ‘does’	 nukuranis ‘before doing’
e-stem	 libeni ‘receives’	 nulibenis ‘before receiving’
n-stem	 annani ‘comes’	 nānnaniṣ ‘before coming’
monosyllabic-stem	 deni ‘gives’	 nudenīṣ ‘before giving’

Table 8.33: Prospective irrealis mood

more general, so that it can refer to events, such as the passage of time, which cannot in fact be prevented from happening.

Prospective irrealis verbs occur only in subordinate clauses and are thus nonfinite verbs. As such they do not take person marking, differing from normal irrealis verbs in this respect. Also, prospective irrealis verbs are always negative, while normal irrealis verbs may or may not be negative, depending on whether the action would have or would not have been done. For an example of the prospective irrealis or subjunctive, see 13.75.

8.3.5 Particles of relative timing

Dhivehi uses a number of suffixing particles to establish the relative order of occurrence between the various verbs in a sentence. In this section I follow Cain and Gair (2000) in the terminology used to describe these particles as *successive*, *temporal*, or *simultaneous*. These particles are used on the subordinate verbs in a sentence, and thus none of them co-occur with person marking. Other particles also occur on verbs and serve to create various subordinate forms; a selection of those that do not specifically attach to a particular verb form are discussed in Chapter 9.

As alluded to at various earlier points in this chapter, Dhivehi has two successive particles that attach to converbs to indicate that the converb describes an action or

state that occurred before the main verb of the sentence.¹⁸ These particles are **-fai** (فَإِ) and **-geñ** (جَئِن), and are shown in Table 8.34. **-fai** is derived from the converb of the obsolete verb ***fiani** (فَيَانِي), and **-geñ** is an archaic converb of the verb **gannani** (جَانَنِي) ‘buys, gets’. The use of these particles is often helpful for disambiguating various verb forms, given that they only attach to converbs. The differences in usage between **-fai** and **-geñ** are subtle (see Section 13.1.1), but one useful rule of thumb is that a converb with **-fai** will have the same subject as the inflected verb of the sentence, while a converb with **-geñ** might not.

The successive particle **-fai** will be shortened to **-fa** (فَا) before the sentence-final particle **-eve** (عَ). It may also be written as **-fa** (فَا) in informal writing, as that is how it is pronounced. The pronunciation **-fā** (فَا) may also be heard. A converb that otherwise ends in **-ai** (اِ) (the a-stem converbs) will end in **-ā** (اَ) before **-fai**. This makes the converb look like the present participle in most of the a-stem verbs, but as the n-stem and e-stem verbs show, it is actually the converb that is used with **-fai**. When the converb ends in **s**, as in **ais** (ايس) ‘having come’ or **gos** (جوس) ‘having gone’, the **f** of **-fai** assimilates to the **s**, so that these are pronounced as **ais-sa** (ايس-سا) and **gos-sa** (جوس-سا). Usually the formal spellings **ais-fai** and **gos-fai** will be used, but occasionally the assimilated form will be written.

	a-stem	n-stem	e-stem
Citation form	hadani ‘makes’ هَدَانِي	annani ‘comes’ اَنَّنِي	feṣeni ‘is begun’ فَعَسَنِي
Successive -fai	hadā-fai هَدَا-فَا	ais-fai, ais-sa ايس-فَا ايس-سا	feṣi-fai فَعَسِ-فَا
Successive -geñ	hadai-geñ هَدَاي-جَئِن	ais-geñ ايس-جَئِن	feṣi-geñ فَعَسِ-جَئِن

Table 8.34: Successive particles

¹⁸ In calling these morphemes *particles* rather than *suffixes*, I am both following the terminology of Cain and Gair (2000) and responding to the fact that these morphemes attach to already inflected forms (in the case of the successive particles, to converbs) rather than being part of the inflection itself. However, given that these morphemes do not attach to words of other lexical categories, it may be more accurate to consider them suffixes, as suggested by Jonathon Lum (p.c.). In that case, however, they belong to a layer of suffixation that is outside of the basic inflectional layer.

There are also particles that are suffixed to participles and indicate that two states or actions are contemporaneous. In Table 8.35 *temporal* has the meaning ‘when...’ or ‘as’,¹⁹ or even ‘once...’, while *simultaneous* is more like ‘while...’. The temporal particle هــ -**mā** will be shortened to هـ -**ma** before the sentence-final particle هـ -**eve** and is sometimes written as هـ -**ma** in other contexts as well. It is also occasionally written هـ -**mai**. It attaches to the progressive (“long”) form of the past participle.

The simultaneous particle هـ -**muñ** is very common.²⁰ It attaches to the present-tense stem (everything before the هـ -**nī** of the citation form). Alternatively, one could say that it attaches to the present participle with a short(ened) final vowel. The simultaneous particle هـ -**koş** (also the converb of the verb هـ **kurani** ‘does’), attaches to the progressive/long form of the present participle, again with a shortened final vowel.

	a-stem	n-stem	e-stem
Citation form	هـ hadanī ‘makes’	هـ annanī ‘comes’	هـ uḷenī ‘is, lives’
Temporal ‘(when...)’ هـ -mā	هـ hedī-mā	هـ aī-mā	هـ uḷenī-mā
Simultaneous1 ‘(while...)’ هـ -muñ	هـ hada-muñ	هـ anna-muñ	هـ uḷe-muñ
Simultaneous2 ‘(while...)’ هـ -koş	هـ hadanī-koş	هـ annanī-koş	هـ uḷenī-koş

Table 8.35: Contemporaneous particles

The locational/postural verbs هـ **hunnanī** ‘is standing’, هـ **onnanī** ‘is lying’, هـ **innanī** ‘is sitting’, and the plural هـ **tibenī** ‘are located’) have special simultaneous forms in addition to those in Table 8.35, which mean ‘while being’. They

19 As in English, this temporal ‘as’ can shade off into ‘because’, as in هـ **ehen-vī-mā** ‘therefore’ [lit. ‘as/because [it] is thus’].

20 A potential pitfall for learners is that an e-stem verb with the simultaneous هـ -**muñ** particle looks very much like a verbal noun with an ablative/instrumental suffix, which may be used to present causes or prior events, as described in Section 13.4.3. The simultaneous form of هـ **uḷenī** ‘is, lives’, for example, is هـ **uḷemuñ**, while the ablative/instrumental verbal noun is هـ **uḷumuñ**.

are formed by gemination of the last stem consonant in the (third-person) present or converb form (in these verbs the third-person present and the converb are the same except for vowel length) and the addition of $\text{ـ}^{\text{ا}}$ -**ā** (or $\text{ـ}^{\text{اي}}$ -**ai**). Thus they look like causative present participles (or converbs). These simultaneous forms are shown in Table 8.36. The simultaneous form of $\text{هـ}^{\text{نن}}$ **hunnani** ‘is (standing)’ is somewhat exceptional, in that the ر **r** of $\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ **hurē** ‘is standing (present tense)’ geminates as $\text{هـ}^{\text{رر}}$ **hurṛ** (as does the ر **r** of past tense $\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ **huri** when followed by $\text{ـ}^{\text{ع}}$ -**eve**). This is because the ر **r** was once س **s** (and earlier ط **ṭ**) in these words (Fritz 2002: 34), as still retained in the literary form of $\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ **huri**, $\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ **huṣi**.²¹

Citation form	Present tense	Simultaneous form
$\text{هـ}^{\text{نن}}$ hunnani ‘is standing’	$\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ hurē	$\text{هـ}^{\text{رر}}$ hurṛā
$\text{هـ}^{\text{نن}}$ onnani ‘is lying’	$\text{هـ}^{\text{و}}$ ovē	$\text{هـ}^{\text{وو}}$ ovvā
$\text{هـ}^{\text{نن}}$ innani ‘is sitting’	$\text{هـ}^{\text{ند}}$ iṇdē	$\text{هـ}^{\text{ند}}$ iṇdā
$\text{هـ}^{\text{نن}}$ tibeni ‘are located’	$\text{هـ}^{\text{ب}}$ tibē	$\text{هـ}^{\text{بب}}$ tibbā

Table 8.36: Simultaneous existential verbs

8.4 Negation of verbs

Verbs are negated with the particle $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **nu-**, which is written as a prefix on the verb, as in Table 8.37 (see also Section 9.1.6 and Section 12.7). If the verb is a compound, the $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **nu-** is attached to the last lexical element of the compound. Verbs that are structured like compounds but whose final element is no longer lexical (such as potentials with $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**fāne**, perfects with $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**fi**, and converbs with the successive particle $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**fai** or $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ -**geṇ**) do not prefix the $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **nu-** to these final verbal particles but to the lexical element prior to them. However, when $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **geṇ** is the converb of $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **ganna(va)nī** ‘takes, buys’, as in honorifics with $\text{نـ}^{\text{و}}$ **vaḍai-gannavanī** ‘come/go (hon)’, it

²¹ A correspondence between ر **r** and س **s** exists in a few other words as well, as in the pair of variants $\text{هـ}^{\text{ر}}$ **huṣa-haḷani** and $\text{هـ}^{\text{س}}$ **hura-haḷani** for the verb meaning ‘proposes, puts forward’. These two Dhivehi phonemes were once pronounced very similarly, but the س **s** has since become more sibilant for most Dhivehi speakers (Fritz 2002: 34). The correspondence between ر **r** and س **s** is no longer phonologically productive, however.

is lexical and takes the nu- , as in vaḍai-nu-geṇ ‘doesn’t come/go.CNV’. As this example shows, in the case of compounds (which are quite common—see Chapter 11), the nu- is in the middle of an orthographic word, making it easy for a learner to overlook.

Category	Verb	Negated form
a-stem	kurani ‘does’	nu-kurani ‘does not do’
e-stem	libeni ‘receives’	nu-libeni ‘does not receive’
n-stem	gannani ‘buys, gets’	nu-gannani ‘does not get/buy’
monosyllabic	dani ‘goes’	nu-dani ‘does not go’
vowel initial	onnanī ‘is lying’	nōnnanī ‘is not lying’
vowel initial	uḷeni ‘exists’	nūḷeni ‘does not exist’
vowel initial (diphthong)	ais ‘having come’	n-ais ‘not having come’
exception	hadani ‘makes’	na-hadani ~ nu-hadani ‘does not make’
exception + compound	huṣa-haḷani ‘proposes’	huṣa-nāḷani ‘does not propose’
compound	vidāḷu-vanī ‘says (hhon.)’	vidāḷu-nu-vanī ‘does not say (hhon.)’
with suffixed particle	koṣ-fāne ‘might do’	nu-koṣ-fāne ‘might not do’
with suffixed particle	arai-gen ‘having risen’	nārai-gen ‘not having risen’

Table 8.37: Negated verbs

If the verb begins with a vowel, the vowel of the negative prefix assimilates and coalesces with it, creating a long vowel. If the vowel is already long (or a diphthong), the u is simply lost, as in n-ais ‘having not come’. The verb hadani

‘makes’ and its involitive **hedenī** ‘grows, is made’ are sometimes exceptional in that they may also trigger assimilation, but without the coalescence of the vowels, as the **h** remains, creating **na-hadani** ‘does not make’ and **ne-hedenī** ‘does not grow, is not made’. In **huṣa-haḷani** ‘puts forward’, the **h** is lost, yielding **huṣa-nāḷani** ‘does not put forward’.

Examples of negated verbs are in Table 8.37. See also Section 11.1 and Section 11.2 for negation of compound verbs and collocations and Section 12.7 for negation in sentences.

9 Particles, Interjections, Conjunctions, and Discourse Markers

This chapter considers a sampling of function words and particles, including conjunctions, interjections, and discourse markers, that are important to understanding the structure of sentences and the flow of discourse. By *particles* is meant here small non-inflecting function words that are usually written and pronounced as affixes on another word. *Conjunctions* (some of which may also be considered particles) serve to connect parts of sentences (constituents) and pieces of discourse, and express semantic or syntactic relationships between them. *Interjections* are non-inflecting, often exclamatory words that may form a complete utterance in themselves without being part of a larger sentence, while *discourse markers* (like *well...* and *so...* in English) are words or particles that are used with no particular semantic content to guide the flow of discourse. The interjections and discourse markers are peripheral to the syntax of the language (they don't combine with words of other classes to make more complex phrases), but many of the particles mentioned in this chapter perform important syntactic functions which will be returned to in the syntax chapters (Chapter 10 through Chapter 13) and will be exemplified there. The Dhivehi term for the class of words that comprises particles, interjections, conjunctions, and discourse markers is ފަހުފަހު **akuru** (which means 'letter' or 'alphabet' in other contexts).

A few of the grammatical words and particles of Dhivehi participate in the honorific system, as described below. These are addressee-oriented honorifics, in that their use is triggered by the high status of the person(s) being spoken *to* rather than the person(s) being spoken *about*. This is in contrast to the majority of honorific usage in Dhivehi, which is usually referent oriented (triggered by the status of the person(s) spoken *about*).

9.1 Particles

Dhivehi uses a number of particles, usually written and pronounced as affixes on another word. Compared with true morphological affixes, however, these particles may either attach to a wider range of words or have a meaning somewhat more distinct from the word they attach to. Nevertheless, most of them do attach phonologically to a lexical word, in that they do not have their own stress and they trigger morphophonological processes, so that, for example, a word-final ސ **s** will become ހ **h** before a vowel-initial particle. In linguistic terminology, these particles may be called *clitics*.¹

¹ It can be difficult to tell whether a grammatical morpheme is a clitic or constitutes an independent word, especially in written Dhivehi. Although clitics are usually written without a word space, the inconsistent and rather minimalist approach to word spacing that Dhivehi

In in-line examples clitics are shown with a hyphen at the point where they attach, while in interlinear examples they are connected with an equal sign in order to distinguish them from other types of morphemes that may be present in the same example.

Most Dhivehi clitics are suffixing (that is, they are enclitics), while a few are prefixing (they are proclitics). The demonstratives (described in Section 6.1) are also usually written as prefixes when they are used as determiners (modifying nouns) or adverbs (modifying verbs).

A few grammatical morphemes in this section, such as the negative ނު *nūṇ* ‘not’ presented in Section 9.1.6), are independent words rather than clitics, in that they will appear in a stressed position in a sentence and do not undergo morphophonological processes to combine them with adjoining words.

9.1.1 Sentence-ending particle

In standard written Dhivehi, every sentence that is not a quote ends in the particle ހެ -*eve*, written as a suffix on the last word of the sentence. It is used regardless of whether the sentence in question is a complete sentence, so long as it is set off as a complete utterance in the text (and is therefore followed by a period in modern Dhivehi). The sentence-ending particle is glossed in this grammar as END. Spoken Dhivehi and the most informal written Dhivehi do not use this particle.

Although Fritz (2002: 258) analyzes ހެ -*eve* as historically equivalent to the particle which marks directly quoted speech, ޭ ޭ *ē* (see Section 9.1.2 below), the use of the two particles is rather different in the present-day language. Sentence-ending ހެ -*eve* may only occur in absolute sentence-final position and adds no semantic meaning to the sentence. In the modern language it simply serves as a kind of spelled-out period (like *STOP* in English telegrams), though periods are also used. Some vestige of the relationship between ހެ -*eve* and the quotative marker ޭ ޭ *ē* remains, however, in that the sentence-ending ހެ -*eve* may not occur on the same word as the quotative ޭ ޭ *ē* or the reportative ފ ފ *-ō* (which also do not co-occur with each other).

takes makes the absence (or even the presence) of a space an unreliable indicator. If the morpheme in question is vowel-initial, however, it is relatively easy to tell, both in speech and in writing. Not only does final ސ *s* become ހ *h* before a cliticizing particle, but the presence or absence of a word-initial ހ *h* ‘alifu’ is also an indicator. So, for example, the verb ފ ފ *ot* ‘was (lying)’, when taking the quotative particle ޭ ޭ -*ē* (a clitic) becomes ފ ފ *otē*, without an initial ހ *h* ‘alifu’ in the clitic, but when orthographically combined with an independent word (such as ހ ހ *iru* ‘time’, used to make temporal subordinate clauses as *when* does in English), it is ފ ފ ހ ހ *ot_iru*, with a word-final ސ *s* ‘thaa-sukun’ on the first element and an initial ހ *h* ‘alifu’ on the second element, and pronounced [oɲɪru], with the ސ *s* ‘thaa-sukun’ pronounced [ɪŋ] as it is word finally before a vowel-initial word (see Section 3.5.1).

The use of the sentence-ending particle is one of the most obvious differences between written and spoken Dhivehi. Even in reading aloud there is (usually) a difference between what is written and what is pronounced: the particle spelled **-eve** is usually read aloud as [ē] or may even be ignored altogether, although some speakers do read out the full [eve] (often more quietly than the rest of the sentence).

Before **-eve**, the diphthongs **ai** and **oi** in verbs and their associated particles are shortened to **a** and **o**, and the long vowels **ā** and **ē** are shortened to **a** and **e** in verbs and their associated particles. Word-final **u** is lost, except for in the literary first-person plural and second person **-mu**. Nouns and adjectives that end in a single consonant followed by **-i** undergo the gemination and/or palatalization processes described in Section 3.6, but most verbs do not. The process does apply to **duṣi** ‘saw’ (creating **duṭṭ-eve**), **tibi** ‘were located’ (creating **tibbeve**), **buni** ‘said’, (creating **buññ-eve**), and **huri** ‘was (standing)’, (creating **huṭṭ-eve**, via the historical and literary form **huṣi** ‘was (standing)’), but does not apply to most other verbs, including all those that end in **-vi**.

Infinitives and imperatives take a form that ends in a long vowel plus **ṣ** before the sentence-final particle, yielding written forms such as **kurāṣ-eve** (meaning either ‘to do’ or ‘do!’) or **dēṣ-eve** (meaning either ‘to give’ or ‘give!’), as described in Section 8.3.3.4 and Section 8.3.4.1.

After the divine imperative suffix, **-ñdē** (which is used when asking God to do something—see Section 8.3.4.1), **-eve** is simply **-ve**, yielding forms such as **kuravvāñdēve** ‘do.HON.DIMP.END’.

9.1.2 Quotative particles

A quote (more or less direct) of something that one has heard for one’s self and is quoting is marked with the particle **-ē**. The **-ē** is also used when one repeats one’s self, in which case it naturally also conveys some emphasis. The particle **-ō** marks hearsay or a vaguer quote. It often has the general meaning of ‘they say’ or ‘it is alleged’, but it can also be used in contrast with **-ē** to mark the switch between quoting one’s self and quoting another person or to mark a quote embedded in another quote. The quotative particles usually attach to verbs, but may not occur on the same word as a sentence-ending **-eve**. Thus when a quotative particle ends a sentence, the **-eve** is left off (and vice versa). Quotative particles are usually found on clause-final verbs, but may also be attached to other sentence elements whose status as a quote the speaker wants to stress.

The use of **-ē** or **-ō** is common in spoken and written Dhivehi. However, it is also possible in writing to set off a direct quote in quotation marks (with or without quotative particles). In either speech or writing one can also use a complementizer (usually **kamaṣ**, see Section 9.1.7) with a verb of speaking such as **vidālu-**

vani ‘says (hnon)’ to indicate reported speech. The news genre of Dhivehi uses this strategy quite often. When a complementizer is used to set off what someone has said, a quotative particle is not used. See Section 13.3 for more on the use of quoted speech.

After front vowels (ހ **e**, ޅ **ē**, ޅ **i**, ޅ **ī**), quotative ޅ **-ē** and ޅ **-ō** are pronounced, and may optionally be spelled, ޅ **-yē** and ޅ **-yō** but are often left orthographically unchanged. The successive particle ޅ **-fai** (for which see Section 8.3.5) loses its (written) final vowel before ޅ **-ē**, but this does not affect the pronunciation, which is ޅ **-fa** anyway. As with the sentence-ending particle, infinitives and imperatives to which a quotative particle attaches appear in a form that ends in a long vowel plus ސ **ṣ**, as in ޅ ޅ ޅ **kurāṣē** (meaning either “to do” or “do!”).

A further quotative particle, ޅ **-ōla**, conveys that people other than the speaker are saying such things, but that the speaker does not agree with them. As such it tends to be used in the context of criticism or mockery.² ޅ **-ōla** can co-occur with ޅ **-eve** (as it usually does in writing), or with ޅ **-ē** or ޅ **-ō**. When attached to a vowel-final word, it takes the form ޅ **-yōla**. If the final vowel of the word is ޅ **-ī**, such as ޅ ޅ ޅ **jehuni** ‘was struck’, the result will sometimes be ޅ ޅ ޅ **-iyyōla**, as in ޅ ޅ ޅ **jehuniyyōla**, but this rule of spelling is often ignored (and there is no significant difference in pronunciation between the two spellings). An example of ޅ **-ōla** used in a sentence is in 13.41.

9.1.3 Question particles

There are several particles in Dhivehi that serve to mark a sentence as a question.

The suffixing particle ޅ **-ta** and its honorific equivalent ޅ **-tō** are the most common question particles in speech. The honorific ޅ **-tō** is used when asking a question of (rather than about) a high-status individual (a person meriting either mid-level or high-level honorifics). The ޅ **-ta** and ޅ **-tō** particles are suffixed to the last word of the particular constituent of the sentence that is being asked about, or at the end of the sentence. When a sentence contains an interrogative pronoun (such as ޅ ޅ ޅ **kihineḵ** ‘how, how much’ – see Section 6.4 for interrogative pronouns), ޅ **-ta** may be left off, but ޅ **-tō** is not, because it is needed to mark the honorific status of the question. ޅ **-ta** is not used in formal writing, but ޅ **-tō** is. (ޅ **-tō** is also a complementizer of doubt, see Section 9.1.7.)

The two other question particles are ޅ **hē** and ޅ **baa**, which do not have honorific variants. In speech, ޅ **hē** is used to quote or repeat a question. This can be emphasized as ޅ ޅ **heyyē**. The written sentence-final form of ޅ **hē** is ޅ ޅ ޅ **heyy-eve**, which is

² Reynolds (2003: 56) glosses this as ‘suffix indicating “they say”’ without referring to the disagreement of the current speaker. In including the disagreement I am following the explanation given to me by a native speaker.

used in place of 𐋢 -**ta** to ask questions in writing (as implied above in the discussion of sentence-final and quotative particles, quoted/repeated forms and written forms are often quite similar for historical reasons). 𐋣 **hē** can also be used to make exclamations. 𐋤 **baa**, which is often 𐋥 **bāva** in writing, carries a sense of presenting a question rather than outright asking it, analogous to expressions in English such as *I wonder if...* or *I wonder who...*

For more on questions and exclamations in Dhivehi, see Section 12.8.1. For discourse markers that create tag questions and/or solicit agreement, see Section 9.4.

9.1.4 Copula

The particle 𐋦 -**akī** is a statement of equivalence, called a copula. It links the subject to a noun phrase predicate. The copula will translate as various forms of the English copular verb *be* depending on its context, but it is not a verb in Dhivehi. It displays no verbal inflection (such as for tense or person) and it is placed differently in a sentence than a verb, coming directly after the subject noun phrase rather than at the end of the sentence. Its form when used with demonstratives is simply 𐋦 -**ī**, as in 𐋦 **e-ī** ‘that is’. With demonstratives ending in 𐋦 **ī**, the vowels merge, yielding 𐋦 **mī** ‘this is’ and 𐋦 **tī** ‘that by you is’. This is usually, but not invariably, reflected in the spelling as well as the pronunciation. The shorter 𐋦 -**ī** copula is also used in combination with a few other words, most notably those introducing explanatory sentences, as described further in Section 9.2. 𐋦 -**ī** is also used as a focus marker on predicate adjectives (for which see Section 12.5). The 𐋦 -**ī** focus marker and the 𐋦 -**ī** copula are considered the same morpheme by Fritz (2002), with the 𐋦 -**akī** form of the copula being considered a combination of the unspecified suffix 𐋦 -**aku** and the focus marker/copula 𐋦 -**ī**; this grammar remains agnostic on this point.

The use of the copula is illustrated in Section 12.1.2. It is used specifically to equate two noun phrases. It is not used to link a subject noun phrase to an adjective (as in English *The house is big*); such sentences require neither a verb nor a copula in Dhivehi, as explained further in Section 12.1.1. In some languages, such as English, the copula is also used to express existence or the state of being located in a particular place. Dhivehi does not use its copula in this way but rather uses a number of different verbs to express existence and/or location (see Section 12.6).³

³ I follow Dixon (2010: 158–162) in considering a verb that marks existence and/or location but is not used to make statements of equivalence (or *identity* in his words) or of attribution to not be a copula, although the copulas of some languages (such as English) also play these roles.

9.1.5 Emphatic particles

The particle **-ves** is the most commonly used emphatic particle. It adds a meaning of ‘too, also’, or ‘even’, as in **ma-ves** ‘me too’. While in some cases it is translatable as ‘also’ or ‘even’, in other uses it conveys an emphasis that is unlikely to be explicitly translated into English. After certain words ending in **-e**, **-ves** may be contracted to just **-s**. Thus **kommess** is a contracted form of **komme-ves** ‘some or other’, and **vures** is a contracted form of **vure-ves** ‘even compared to’. These contractions are very common in speech but less so in writing.

The particle **-me** also has an emphatic meaning. In several of its most common uses it has been lexicalized. Thus it attaches to **koñ** ‘which?’ to produce **komme** ‘some or other, whichever’, as discussed more fully in Section 6.5. When **-me** attaches to **kitak** ‘how many?’ the result means ‘several’ (with an indefinite noun) or ‘however (much/many)’ with a concessive verb. With **ek**, **-me** forms **emme** ‘a single, the most’. With **den** ‘then’, it creates **denme** ‘just now’. However, **-me** is sometimes also used in a more general (non-lexicalized) emphatic sense, as in **hama-ehen-me** ‘just like that (emph)’.

The particle **-ē** (which looks like the quotative particle) also serves as an emphasis marker on a particular element of a sentence, as in **de-tiñ mihek-ē** ‘(just) two-three people’. However, it does not have the inclusive ‘also’ sense of **-ves**.

Demonstratives are given the emphatic particle **-ok**, as in **e-ok** ‘that there’ and **mi-ok** ‘this here’. The **ok** is derived from the verb **ot**, past tense of **onnani** ‘is (lying)’.⁴ As discussed further in Section 12.6.1, past tense forms of locational verbs such as **onnani** tend to be have present-tense meaning when they are used existentially. An example of an emphatic demonstrative is given in 12.71.

9.1.6 Negative particles

There are three main negative morphemes in Dhivehi. The most common is **nu-**, which is written as a prefix on verbs, whether they be finite, nonfinite, or even verbal nouns. Its use with verbs is discussed more fully in Section 8.4. Occasionally it attaches to a non-verb, such as **nurakkā** ‘danger’, from **rakkā** ‘safety’; or **nu-**

⁴ This is as explained by a native speaker, who pointed out that **mi-ok** [miyo?] is easier to say than **mi-ot** [miyoɪ?].

sīdā ‘indirect, not straight’, from سِدَّ **sīdā** ‘straight’; or نُو-كِيَامَانْتَرِي **nu-kiyamanteri** ‘disobedient’, from كِيَامَانْتَرِي **kiyamanteri** ‘obedient’.

The other two negative morphemes are independent words and are often (but not always, given the vagaries of Dhivehi word spacing) written as such. Existence is negated with نَع **net** ‘there is not’; and equivalence, the ascription of attributes (in nonverbal sentences), or sentences with focus verbs are negated with نُون **nūn** ‘not’. نَع **net** has a corresponding verb, نَتَنِي **neteni** ‘is absent’ (created from نَع **net** ‘there is not’ via back-formation, according to Reynolds 2003) and could thus be considered a verb in the modern language.

In the standard language of Malé, verbal negation in finite clauses requires *negative concord* on the verb’s complement and/or other nearby constituents. This negative concord is achieved by means of another series of suffixes and particles. Negation in nonfinite clauses does not require negative concord. When negative concord is required, nouns in the scope of a negative verb or negation particle will take -ءَك **-ek** or -ءَكُو **-aku** (the indefinite and unspecified inflections, also used elsewhere in nouns, as described in Section 5.2). Adjectives will take -ءَك **-ek**, though they do not take indefinite inflection for any purpose other than negative concord.

Verbs are usually themselves the negated element, but certain verb forms may occur in the scope of the negation on other verbs or of the sentence-negating particles نُون **nūn** ‘not’ or نَع **net** ‘there is not’. When such a verb is in the focus form (past, present, or future, all of which end in -ئِي **-ī**), it will take -كِي **-ki**, as do the demonstrative-copula combinations (so that ءِئِي **e-ī** ‘that is’ becomes ءِئِي-كِي **e-ī-kī**). The full copula, -ءَكِي **-akī**, remains unaffected. Infinitives in the scope of negation lose their final -ئِن **-n**, lengthen the previous vowel, and add -ءَاښ **-kaṣ** (so that, for example, هَدَاښ **hadaṇ** ‘to make’ becomes هَدَاښ **hadākaṣ** in a negative context, which makes it look like a dative noun in the unspecified inflection). Other verbs in the scope of negation usually take -ءَك **-ek**. Verbs ending with the successive particle -ءَاي **-fai** may take -ءَا **-kā** but this is prescriptively frowned on, and -ءَك **-ek** is preferred. Either way, the -ءَاي **-fai** will shorten (orthographically) to -ءَا **-fa**. The number of elements in a sentence that take negative concord is a matter of emphasis. For more on the use of negation in sentences, see Section 12.7.

The Arabic negative prefix لَّا **lā-** is found on some loanwords, such as لَّا-دِينِي **lā-dīnī** ‘irreligious’. The Urdu/Persian negative prefix بَ **bē** is also used on some loanwords, as in بَ-اِنْسَافُو **bē-insāfu** ‘unjust, injustice’ (from اِنْسَافُو **insāfu** ‘justice’) and بَ-ءَدَابِي **bē-adabī** ‘ill-mannered’ (from اَدَابِي **adabī** ‘respectful’). These borrowed negative prefixes are not used on verbs and are not used as sentence negation.

The word هِيلَا **hilā** ‘at all’ serves to emphasize negation. An example is given in 12.111.

9.1.7 Complementizers

To allow clauses to be the complements of verbs (as in *he was hungry* in *John said that he was hungry*), Dhivehi uses a number of different grammatical words and particles. These complementizers include **kamaṣ** (ދަންނަވަ) and **kamugai** (ދަންނަވަ) (the dative and locative of the noun **kaṁ** ‘deed’, respectively) for active verbs like **vidālu-vanī** ‘says (hnon)’. For the IN-verb **eṅgenī** ‘knows’, the direct case form, **kaṁ** is used instead. As an IN-verb of passive experience, **eṅgenī** ‘knows’ takes a dative case subject and a direct case object. A clausal complement is also assigned the direct case via its complementizer, **kaṁ**. Verbs of speech, such as **bunani** ‘says’ and **vidālu-vanī** ‘says (high-hon)’, are active verbs that take direct-case subjects and assign their complement clauses non-direct cases.

The complementizer **-heñ** (ހެން), which in other contexts means ‘like, in the manner of’, is usually used with **hivani** ‘thinks’. The noun **tañ** ‘place’ is used as a complementizer with verbs of seeing, and the noun **vāhaka** ‘story, speech, utterance’ is used as a complementizer for verbs that introduce something someone has said.

Where there is doubt involved in the complement clause (as in English complementizers *if* and *whether*), **-tō** (ތޯ) is used. Thus **-tō** can be either an honorific question particle (as described in Section 9.1.3), or a complementizer of questioning or doubt.

See Section 13.2 for complex sentences that use complementizers.

9.1.8 Particle of present relevance

The prefixing particle **eba-** (އެބަ-) is combined with verbs or noun-verb compounds to convey that an action or state is presently going on. It most commonly precedes a verb (e.g., **eba hōdañjehē** ‘still need to find’) or a noun-verb compound (e.g., **eba masakkaṭ kurē** ‘still working [lit. still doing work]’), where it is often but not always written as a prefix. A common application is to the locational verbs of posture (**hunnani** ‘is (standing)’, **innani** ‘is (sitting)’, and **onnani** ‘is (lying)’), which are used in their past tense when forming present existential/locational clauses. Presumably this use of the past tense arises because in order to be, say, sitting somewhere, one has to have previously sat down. The particle **eba-** is used to indicate that such verbs are meant to be interpreted as present-tense existentials. (For more on the use of locational and existential verbs, see Section 12.6.) The final vowel of **eba-** is not given its own syllable if the following verb is vowel initial. Thus, for example, **eba.in** ‘still sitting’ is pronounced [ebæ:n] in Malé, as it would be if the word were monomorphemic.

‑**eba**‑ is also often used with the present tense to indicate that one is just about to do something, just as the English word *presently* can be used to mean ‘soon’ rather than literally ‘at present’. Thus the use of such a construction can either mean that one is in the middle of doing something or that one is just about to do it.

9.1.9 Adverbial subordination particles

There are several particles that serve to mark concepts such as timing, manner, reason, and conditionality. Because they also serve to mark subordinate clauses, they are presented briefly here and also (with full-sentence examples) in Section 13.4.

9.1.9.1 Timing particles

The time when something began is marked with the suffixing particle ‑**ssure**, which has the alternative form ‑**nsure**. This particle can follow the past progressive form of a verb, as in **feṣuni‑ssure** ‘since [it] began’, or a noun that refers either directly or indirectly to time, as in **iyyeiṅsure** ‘since yesterday’ or **ādamuge fānu‑ssure** ‘since Adam’. This particle marks only times, not reasons (unlike the word *since* in English).

A similar particle is ‑**tā**, which is generally translated as ‘since’ or ‘from the time of’ if it follows a participle. The particle **den** ‘then’ (also a discourse connective—see Section 9.2), means ‘until’ when it follows an infinitive, and means ‘while’ when it follows a participle.

The noun **iru** ‘time’ can serve to create an adverbial clause of timing, which will take the form of a participial clause modifying the noun **iru** ‘time’.

A number of timing particles that attach specifically to particular verb forms are presented in Section 8.3.5. For sentences that contain the timing particles of this section and of Section 8.3.5, see Section 13.4.2.

9.1.9.2 Manner particles

Manner adverbials can be created with ‑**heñ** or **fadañ**. Used in this way, they both mean ‘as, like, in the manner (of)’. **fadañ** is the ablative/instrumental of **fada** ‘manner’. ‑**heñ** is also used as a complementizer with certain verbs, as mentioned in Section 9.1.7.

For examples of these particles used in sentences, see Section 13.4.4.

9.1.9.3 Reason particle

Reasons are marked with the particle ‑**tī** attached to a participle. For the use of this particle in sentences, see Section 13.4.3.

9.1.9.4 Conditional and concessive particles

Conditional clauses are signalled by the use of either the suffixing particle **-(i)yyā** or the independent conditional particle **nama** ‘if’. The suffixing conditional **-(i)yyā** usually attaches to verbs, specifically to past participles and perfect participles. An allomorph, **-ñā** attaches to what looks like the infinitive, but may be better understood as a coalescence of the ‘long form’ present progressive participle and **-(i)yyā**. Conditionals cannot be considered exclusively verbal morphemes, however. **-(i)yyā** may also be found with adjectives or the independent negative particles **nūñ** ‘[is] not’ and **net** ‘there is not’.⁵ The independent conditional **nama** ‘if’ follows a much wider range of constituents, including adjectival, copular, negative, or participial clauses, or non-clausal phrases.

Conditionals with present participles (for **nama** ‘if’) or present progressive participles (for **-(i)yyā**) have an ongoing or habitual reading (‘if [it] is happening’), while conditionals with perfect participles imply that the event has not yet happened (‘if [it] were to happen’), and conditionals with past participles have a past (‘if it happened’) or counterfactual reading (‘if [it] had happened’). The difference in meaning between **nama** ‘if’ and **-(i)yyā** is subtle. Initial inquiry suggests that **-(i)yyā** has a more positive sense, such that it could be translated ‘if and when it happens’ rather than the more hypothetical ‘if it happens’, but more work is needed on this.

The conditional particle **-(i)yyā**, as mentioned, may be suffixed to participles, adjectives or independent negative particles, as in **koṣfi-yyā** ‘if [one] were to do’, **boḍ-iyā** ‘if [it is] big’ or **nūñ-iyā** ‘if [it is] not’. When attached to present progressive participles it coalesces to yield the form **-ñā**, as in **kuraññā** ‘if [one] is doing’, making it appear as though it is attached to the infinitive. Sometimes the particle **-muñ** is added to the conditional (after the **-(i)yyā**), but this makes no difference to the meaning and is prescriptively frowned on. By contrast, the occasional use of **-mu** in this context is considered “fancy.”

Like conditionals, concessive clauses, meaning ‘even if’, ‘although’, or ‘despite’, can be marked either with a suffix or with an independent word. The suffixing concessive particle, **-as**, is attached to past participles as well as to predicate adjectives and the sentence negators **nūñ** ‘not’ and **net** ‘there is not’. When appended to two consecutive phrases, the concessive means ‘whether... or...’. If it follows an adjective preceded by **kitamme** ‘several’, the result means ‘however...’ or ‘no matter how...’ (where ‘...’ indicates the relevant adjective).

⁵ Verbs, adjectives, and independent negative particles constitute a class in Dhivehi, in the sense that all of them can serve as the predicator in a sentence. They can also all take conditional and concessive suffixing particles, as described in this section.

The independent concessive particle is **namaves** ‘although’, often written as a separate word. It follows the final word of a dependent clause or phrase. In sentence-initial position, however, **namaves** means ‘but’ or ‘however’ (put another way, it has the same meaning as *ever*, but the ‘although’ then refers to the previous sentence—a concept expressed in English with a sentence-initial *but* or *however*).

For conditionals and concessives used in sentences, see Section 13.4.1.

9.2 Conjunctions and discourse connectives

Noun phrases and infinitives are co-ordinated with the suffixing particle **-āi** ‘and’, which attaches to the head noun, while categories other than noun phrases are co-ordinated with **adi** ‘also’.⁶ Disjunction is expressed by **nuvata** ‘or’, as described more fully in Section 10.2. Another disjunctive conjunction is **nūni**, which can translate as ‘or’ or ‘if not’. In slightly different usage it can also be translated as ‘but not’ or ‘except’, following what it is excluding. **menuvī** and **fiyavai** also mean ‘except’ or ‘besides’. **menuvī** is used at the adverbial and clausal level (see Section 13.5), and **fiyavai** is used in noun phrases (see Section 10.5.2).

At the sentence level, a number of conjunctions or discourse connectives are used to maintain the flow of discourse from one sentence to the next. Additive information is indicated by beginning sentences with **adi** ‘also’ or **deñ** ‘then, next’. In formal writing **adi** ‘also’ is more common, while **deñ** ‘then, next’ is very common in speech. **adi** may also be used to supplement the noun-phrase co-ordinating particle **-āi** ‘and’ (see Section 10.2). More syntactically complex expressions are also used in the function of connecting sentences, a common example being **mige_ituruñ** ‘additionally (lit. additionally of this)’. A disjunctive meaning between sentences can be obtained by starting the second one with **ehen-nūni** ‘if not, otherwise’, which is also sometimes used sentence internally as a stronger form of **nūni** (‘or otherwise’ as compared to just ‘or’). Contrast with previously stated information is marked by beginning sentences with **namaves** ‘however’, **ehen-namaves** ‘nevertheless’, **ehenas** ‘nevertheless’, or **ekamaku** or its shorter version, **ekamu** ‘but’.

A conclusion stated in one sentence but based on information given in the previous sentence(s) is marked by beginning it with **ehen-kamuñ** ‘lit. from the fact [of it being] like that’, **ehen-vimā** ‘lit. as [it] is like that’ (or **ehen-vīma**), or **ehen-ve** ‘lit. [it] being like that’ (or sometimes **ehen-**

⁶ However, verbs and verb phrases (other than verbal nouns and infinitives) may not be co-ordinated. See Section 13.1.

vegeñ), which all mean ‘therefore’. Conditional conclusions (analogous to English *If* so...) are made with conditional forms created from **ehen** ‘that way, thus’ and conditional forms of the verb **vani** ‘is, becomes’, and include **ehen-vejjenama**, **ehen-vejjiyyā** (also spelled **ehen-vejjeyyā**), and **ehen-viyyā**.

As the previous paragraph demonstrates, many Dhivehi discourse connectives are created from **ehen** ‘like that, thus’. The previous information is described as ‘that’, and the situation it describes is summed up as ‘thus/that way’. A number of these discourse connectives may sometimes also be expressed with **miheñ** ‘like this’ or even occasionally **tihen** ‘like that by you’ (said in response to something one’s addressee has said). This is generally true of those that express a logical connection (such as ‘therefore’ or ‘if so’) but not of those that express a disjunction (such as ‘nevertheless’ or ‘otherwise’), which are only made from **ehen** ‘like that, thus’, which contains the third-person demonstrative. Overall, the **e-** ‘DEM3’ forms are more common, even when first- and second-person demonstratives are possible.

Explanations are prefaced with words using the short form of the copula (introduced in Section 9.1.4), such as **e-i** ‘that is...’, **ehen-i** ‘that is because...’, and **ebah-i** ‘that is to say...’ (from **bas** ‘word’). The full copula is used with **egot-aki** ‘[it’s] that way because...’ (from **got** ‘way, manner’). Clarifications may be prefaced with **mi-buni** ‘DEM1-said’ (‘I said/meant’), and they are requested with **ti-buni?** ‘DEM2-said’ (‘you said/meant?’).

9.3 Interjections

Interjections are non-inflecting words that do not participate in larger syntactic phrases but nevertheless play a semantic role in the discourse. Interjections are anomalous in Dhivehi in that they allow nasalized vowels.

Of the interjections, some very important ones are words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Agreement in Dhivehi is expressed with the plain/non-honorific **āñ** ‘yes’ (sometimes **ā**), with the mid-level honorific **labba** ‘yes (mid hon)’, or with the high honorific **āde** ‘yes (high hon)’.⁷ As with other honorifics in this particular chapter, the use of honorific words for ‘yes’ depends on the status of the person spoken *to* and not the status of the person spoken *about*. In other words, they are addressee-oriented honorifics. **āde** ‘yes!’ is also used rhetorically in formal writing when emphasizing a

⁷ The fact that a different word for ‘yes’ exists at each honorific level (including the plain level, for a total of three words), while many other aspects of the Dhivehi honorific system have only two separate values may be why these words are used to name the honorific levels, mid-level honorific speech being termed **labba-duruvum** ‘yes-come/go (mid hon)’ and high honorific speech being termed **āde-vaḍaigatum** ‘yes-come/go (high hon)’.

point, similar to English *Indeed!* (In general, very formal writing uses high addressee-oriented honorifics.)

The negative interjection is نُونْ **nūnē** ‘no’ or the less emphatic (and thus more polite) نُونِ **nūn** ‘no’. The latter also functions as one form of sentence negation, as mentioned in Section 9.1.6. When contradicting what someone has said (rather than answering a question), نَا **nā** ‘no’ may be used instead. An informal vocal gesture of dissent is اُنْهْ **uñhū** ‘uh-unh’. The “empty noonu” in اُنْهْ **uñhū** marks nasalization of the vowel, as it also does in اَيَّ **āñ** ‘yes’.

The affirmative and negative interjections in Dhivehi affirm or deny (respectively) what someone has asked in the polarity in which it was originally asked. Thus if a question is negative, asking if something is not the case, an affirmative interjection will affirm that it is not the case, while a negative interjection will indicate that it is, after all, the case. For example, the answer لَبْبَا **labba** ‘yes (mid hon)’ to the question of *Do you not have any children?* means that one does not in fact have any children.

Words that convey the equivalent of ‘please’ are نِيكَامْ **nikam** and اَلْ **ale**. However, these words are not used as routinely as *please* is in English. هَيُونُفَانِي **heyonuvāne** expresses pleading (like English ‘I beg of you’), but can be confusing to a learner because it appears to mean ‘[it] won’t be good’. Thanks is expressed with the Urdu loanword شُكْرِيَّيَا **shukuriyyā** ‘thank you’ and is replied to with the Urdu مَارُهَابَا **maruhabā** ‘[you’re] welcome’.

مَارُهَابَا **maruhabā** ‘welcome’ is also used to express welcome to guests. When leaving, guests say مِيدَانِي **midani** ‘lit. DEM1-is going’ as ‘good-bye’. The formal Arabic greeting اَسْسَالَامْ **assalām** ‘alaikum’ ‘peace be with you’ and its reply, وَآلَايْكُمُصَالَامْ **va’alaikumussalām** ‘and with you be peace’, are used when people meet, especially in formal situations.

Other interjections are mostly properties of the spoken language. A nasal sound made with the lips closed, هَمَمْ **hmm**, is used to express agreement. This is analogous in function to English *mm-hmm*, not to the *hmm* that English speakers use to show that they are thinking or unsure about something. The interjection اَيْ **ē** (or اَيْ **ē**) may be used to attract someone’s attention, like *hey* in English. Such a call (or being called by name) will receive the answer اَيْ **ō**. Another attention-getting interjection is اَيْ **eo** ‘look there!’ (or اَيْ **mi** ‘look here!’), which in other contexts just means ‘that there’ (or ‘this here’). When first seeing someone, one might say اَنْهَا **añhā**, or اَهَا **ahā**, meaning something like ‘ah, here you are’, especially if one is surprised to see the person. Other interjections include اَسْتَا **astā** ‘oh!’ for surprise (or its short form اَسْ **as**), اَيْنْ **aiñ** ‘huh?’ for a lack of understanding, اَدْدَايْ **addōi** ‘ouch!’ as a cry of pain, and اَلْ **alē**, a flexible interjection that means ‘oops’, ‘oh dear’, or ‘sorry!’

9.4 Discourse markers

Discourse markers are considered here to be words that are used with very little or no specific semantic meaning but that serve a pragmatic function in the discourse, such as soliciting the hearer's agreement or signaling a change of topic. These are primarily features of spoken discourse but may sometimes be used in very informal writing as well.

The discourse marker **-dō** (دو) is used very frequently to solicit the agreement of the addressee. Its use is remarkably similar to the Canadian English discourse marker *eh?* and is frequently cited by speakers as overused in the speech of modern young people. The honorific form of **-dō** is **dettō** (دتو). The particle **inḡē** (ينغه), derived from the verb **eṅgeni** (ينغني) 'is known', is also used to solicit the agreement or cooperation of the addressee, much like *you know?* or *OK?* in English. In honorific speech, **-tō** (تو) is added, to make **inḡē-tō** (ينغه-تو). While **-dō** (دو) and **inḡē** (ينغه) appear to be question markers, they often do not evoke an explicit, verbal response, though a response of **hmm** (هم) would be perfectly appropriate.

Tag questions (like *isn't it?* in English), which also solicit agreement from the listener, may be formed by appending **-eknu** (يكنو) or **-eknuḡ** (يكنوڭ) to the sentence. The latter form may be supplemented with **-dō** (دو). A shorter form, **-nu** (نو) (like the negation particle, but placed *after* the verb) may also be used. The **ek** (يک) which begins the longer form of the tag question is the indefinite negative concord marker, which is used because negative expressions require an indefinite context. Thus theoretically the **ek** (يک) is a negative concord marker added to the expression that the tag question is about, while the **-nu** (نو) is the negation that triggers the presence of the **ek** (يک). This accounts for the spelling **-eknu** (يكنو) rather than **-ennu** (يننو). In speech the **-eknu** (يكنو) may be added to any word the speaker wishes to evoke agreement about, rather than just the last word in a sentence.

A longer way of making tag questions is to combine the sentence-negation marker **nūḡ** (نوڭ) 'not' with the question marker **-ta** (تا) or **-tō** (تو) (the latter for honorific usage) or the written **hey-eve** (هي-يڤ), so as to add **nūnta** (نونتتا) 'is it not?' or **nūntō** (نونتتو) 'is it not (hon)?' or **nūnhey-eve** (نونهي-يڤ) 'is it not.END?' to the end of the sentence. See Section 12.8.1 for examples.

Understanding may be expressed by the listener with **ehen-ta** (هين-تا) or its honorific **ehen-tō** (هين-تو). A longer version, **ehen-ta_vani** (هين-تا-واني), may also be used. Although these expressions have the form of questions meaning 'Is that so?' or 'Really?'—and indeed they can mean that—they are usually not intended as questions and mean something more like 'Ah!' or 'I see'. They acknowledge the receipt of information.

The question word **kobā** (کوبا), which otherwise means 'what' or 'where', is also used to introduce topics, similar to the function of *So, ...* or *Well, ...* in English. The lexicalized phrase **ma_buni** (ما-بوني) 'lit. I said' is also used to introduce a topic (though in other contexts it continues to mean simply 'I said'). Learners should note the difference between **ma_buni** (ما-بوني) 'lit. I said', which introduces a topic, and **mi-buni** (مي-بوني)

‘DEM1-said’, which means ‘I meant’ and is used to introduce a clarification. Syntactically speaking, ma_bunī ‘lit. I said’ and mi-bunī ‘DEM1-said’ would be expected to mean the same thing, given that first-person demonstratives are often used in place of first-person pronouns.

Words that are used to fill pauses and to continue speaking despite not knowing exactly what to say (analogous to English *um*, *like*, and *yeah*) include mī ‘lit. this is’; anek ‘lit. the other’, whose second vowel is often drawn out to produce anē ; and āñ ‘lit. yes’.

10 Noun Phrases

Dhivehi noun phrases contain at minimum a head noun. They may also contain demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, genitive noun phrases, postpositional phrases, comparative or exclusionary phrases, infinitival phrases, and/or participial clauses. They may be conjoined with other noun phrases by co-ordinating or disjunctive particles. Noun phrases whose head nouns are verbal nouns have some properties in common with full clauses, including the ability to take noun phrases as complements, as will be returned to in Section 10.6.

Noun phrases perform a number of functions within sentences. In the direct case (see Section 5.3 for case, which is expressed on the head noun), they may be subjects or objects. In the dative case, they express goals or beneficiaries, or serve as the subjects of verbs of non-volitional action or of ability. In the locative case they express locations of various sorts, including figurative ones. In the ablative/instrumental they express sources, means, methods, and reasons. In the genitive or sociative case, and/or as the objects of postpositions, they express a number of relationships to other nouns. They may also express times. Some nouns function as complementizers, so that the resulting noun phrase serves the function of a complement clause. This chapter is devoted to the internal structure of noun phrases; the use of noun phrases within clauses is covered in Chapter 12 and Chapter 13.

10.1 Noun phrase elements and their order

Like other phrases in Dhivehi, noun phrases are head final, meaning that the noun comes at the end of its phrase. Genitive phrases, postpositional phrases, demonstratives, adjectives, and quantifiers all come before the head noun, generally in that order. Modifying participial clauses do as well; these will be discussed further in Section 10.3. A few nouns may take infinitive complements, which also precede the noun; these are discussed further in Section 10.4.

10.1.1 Quantifiers

When there are several elements preceding the head noun, they usually come in a particular order. A numeric quantifier, if present, will normally be the closest to the noun; thus it will usually be the last thing encountered before the noun. Numeric quantifiers are often written without a space between them and the noun, especially if they are very short (as in ދެ **ek** ‘one’ and ދެ **de** ‘two’); but a space is also not unusual. The spacing in the following examples is maintained from the original sources. Example 10.1 shows the numeric quantifier preceded by a demonstrative, as it is in English. As example 10.2 shows, however, a numeric quantifier will generally occur after an adject-

tive, unlike in English. The numeric quantifier occurring after a genitive noun phrase is shown in 10.3.

(10.1) ދިވެހި ދަންޑު

mi=de_raṣ
DEM1=two_island
 ‘these **two** islands’ (HD)

(10.2) ބިދޭސީ ތިން ފަދަތާރިޔާ

bidēsī tiṅ_kuḷum.teri-ṅ
foreign three_athlete-PL
 ‘the **three foreign** athletes’ (MI)

(10.3) ދިވެހި ރާއްޖޭގެ ތިން ލަކްކާ ރައްޔިތުން

divehi rājjē-ge tiṅ lakka rayyitu-ṅ
 Dhivehi country-GEN **three hundred.thousand** citizen-PL
 ‘the Maldives’ **three hundred thousand** citizens’ (MN)

Occasionally the numeric quantifier is found before an adjective, particularly in certain expressions, such as ފެރިހެން ދަރިފުޅުން *anheṅ kudiṅ* ‘female children, girls’ in 10.4. In a case like this, it appears that the adjective and noun have formed a compound. When the adjective ފެރިހެން *aṅheṅ* ‘female’ occurs with a different noun, it more often precedes the quantifier, as in 10.5.

(10.4) ދުޅަ ދެ ފެރިހެން ދަރިފުޅުން

kuḍa de_aṅheṅ kudi-ṅ
 small **two_female** child-PL
 ‘the **two small** girls’ (HD)

(10.5) ރަންދުވާލު ފެރިހެން ތިން ފަދަތާރިޔާ

emme_molu aṅheṅ tiṅ_kuḷum.teri-ṅ
 single_excellent **female three**_athlete-PL
 ‘the **three best female** athletes’ (HD)

Some expressions vary in whether a quantifier can be interposed between the adjective and the noun. An example is ސިޔާސީ បާޓީ *siyāsī pāṭī* ‘political party’, for which

10.6 and 10.7 give two different orders. It may be **siyāsī pāṭi** is in the process of forming a compound. It may also be that numeric quantifiers are sometimes moved from their typical location for rhetorical effect.

(10.6) **ḥataru siyāsī pāṭi-n**

four political party-PL

‘the **four political** parties’ (HD)

(10.7) **siyāsī ḥataru pāṭi-n**

political four party-PL

‘the **four political** parties’ (HD)

Non-numeric quantifiers are often placed in the same position as numeric quantifiers, next to the noun, as illustrated in 10.8 through 10.13.

(10.8) **mi=ḥurihā kam-ek**

DEM1=**all** action-INDF

‘**all** these actions’ (HD)

(10.9) **sarukāru-ge ḥurihā muazzafu-n**

government-GEN **all** employee-PL

‘**all** the government’s employees’ (HD)

(10.10) **rājjē-ge baek raṣ~raṣ**

country-GEN **some** island~REDUP

‘**some** of the country’s (various) islands’ (HD)

(10.11) **muhimmu baek sūfāsūfi**

important **some** small.creatures

‘**some** important small creatures’ (MN)

- (10.12)
divehi **komme** *rayyit-ek=ves*
 Maldivian **every** citizen-INDF=EMPH
 ‘every Maldivian citizen’ (HD)

- (10.13)
bodeti **etaḳ** *gelluñ-tak-ak-āi* *aniyā-tak-eḳ*
 big.PL **numerous** damage-PL-UNSP-CONJ injury-PL-INDF
 ‘numerous great damages and injuries’ (HD)

However, non-numeric quantifiers are somewhat more prone to appearing in other positions than numeric quantifiers are, depending on the rhetorical context and desired effect. As shown in 10.14 and 10.15, the non-numeric quantifier may sometimes be separated from the noun by an adjective. Compare 10.15 with 10.13.

- (10.14)
hurihā *rañgaḷu* *masakkaḷ-tak-eḳ*
all good work-PL-INDF
 ‘all good work’ (HD)

- (10.15)
etaḳ *bodeti* *aniyā-tak-eḳ*
numerous big.PL injury-PL-INDF
 ‘numerous great injuries’ (HD)

10.1.2 Adjectives

Besides a quantifier, an adjective will be the next closest to the noun, preceded by any genitive or demonstrative. Examples 10.16 and 10.17 show genitive noun phrases preceding adjectives. Common, short adjectives may fail to have a space after them.

- (10.16)
keḷterikamu-ge **foni** *natijā*
 patience-GEN **sweet** result
 ‘the **sweet** results of patience’ (KN)

(10.17)

havīru-ge hiṭṭgaimu vagutu
evening-GEN **pleasant** time

‘the **pleasant** time of the evening’ (VN)

Examples of adjectives with a preceding demonstrative are shown in 10.18 and 10.19.

(10.18)

mi=boḍu bajet
DEM1=big_budget

‘this **big** budget’ (HD)

(10.19)

e=digu mesej
DEM3=long_message

‘that **long** message’ (HD)

The order of adjectives with respect to each other can be surprising to a learner, as 10.20 and 10.21 illustrate.

(10.20)

e=kuḍa lōbi darifulu
DEM3=small_darling child

‘that **darling little** child’ (KN)

(10.21)

ikhhlāsteri raṅgaḷu mihun
sincere good people

‘**good, sincere** people’ (HD)

However, the order of adjectives is somewhat variable and seems to depend on emphasis. Compare 10.22 and 10.23 with 10.24 and 10.25.

(10.22)

jismānī boḍeti aniyā
physical big.PL injury

‘**great physical** injuries’ (HD)

(10.23)

tārīkhī boḍeti badalu-tak-ek
historic big.PL change-PL-INDF
 ‘big historic changes’ (HD)

(10.24)

boḍeti jismānī aniyā-tak-ek
big.PL physical injury-PL-INDF
 ‘great physical injuries’ (HD)

(10.25)

boḍeti inqilābī badalu-tak-ek
big.PL revolutionary change-PL-INDF
 ‘big revolutionary changes’ (HD)

Adjectives or adjectival phrases modifying a single noun can be co-ordinated with *adi* ‘and, also’, although as the previous examples show, single-word adjectives do not require an explicit co-ordinator.

(10.26)

muhimmu adi boḍeti iṣlāḥu-tak-ek
 important **and** big.PL reform-PL-INDF
 ‘big **and** important reforms’ (HD)

(10.27)

varaş muhimmu adi mi=vagut-aş varaş bēnuḡteri kam-ek
 very important **and** DEM1=time-DAT very needed action-INDF
 ‘a very important **and** presently much-needed action’ (MI)

Adjectival phrases may be co-ordinated with participial phrases. See also Section 10.3.2 for more complex adjectival modifiers of this sort.

(10.28)

emme muhimmu adi javābu_nu=libē suvālu
 single important **and** answer_NEG=receive.PRS.PTCP question
 ‘the most important, and unanswered, question’ (HD)

10.1.3 Demonstratives

A demonstrative will be closer to the noun than a genitive, as shown in 10.29, but will occur before an adjective or quantifier, as in 10.30 and above in 10.1, 10.8, 10.18, and 10.19.

(10.29) ދިވެހި ޖަނަވަރުގެ ވޯޓު

pālameṇṭu-ge mi=vōṭu
parliament-GEN **DEM1**=vote
'**this** vote of parliament' (HD)

(10.30) ދިވެހި ރާއްޖޭގެ ކުޅަދަނިގެ ދިވެހި ރާއްޖެ

aḷugaṇḍu-meṇ-ge mi=kuḍa~kuḍa divehi_rājje
1.DEFR-PL-GEN **DEM1**=small~REDUP Dhivehi_country
'**this** tiny little Maldives of ours' (HD)

10.1.4 Genitives and other phrases

Genitives are found at the beginning of noun phrases, before demonstratives, adjectives, or quantifiers, as in 10.30. As well as indicating possession, genitives are used to relate properties to the head noun that are themselves described by nouns, such as measurements and optionally colors (colors may also be used adjectivally, directly modifying the noun).

(10.31) 8 ފަތް ބޮޑު ގެ ބަޑީ

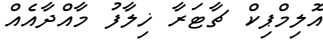
8 *mītaṛ-ge boḍu baḍi*
8 **meter-GEN** big_gun
'8-meter cannons' (HD)

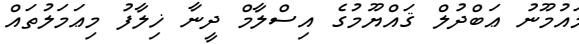
(10.32) ރަތް ބޮޑު ދެ ލަވަ ގެ ލަވަ

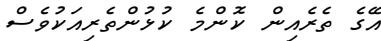
raṭ_kulai-ge boḍu de lō
red_color-GEN big two eye
'two big **red** eyes' (VN)

Occasionally a noun phrase will contain yet other phrases, such as postpositional phrases, as in 10.33. Such phrases are more likely if the head noun refers to an action (and is thus either a verbal noun or semantically similar to a verbal noun), as in 10.34,

or contains a quantifier, as in 10.35. The genitive will also precede such a phrase, which will in turn precede a demonstrative, as in 10.34.

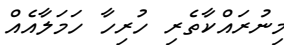
- (10.33) 
olimpik cāṭar-ā khilāfu māddā-ek
 Olympic charter against matter-INDF
 ‘a matter contrary to the Olympic charter’ (HD)

- (10.34) 
maumūnu abdul gayyūmu-ge islām dīn-ā khilāfu
 Maumoon Abdul Gayoom-GEN Islam religion-SOC against
mi=‘amalu-tak
 DEM1=activity-PL
 ‘these activities of Maumoon Abdul Gayoom’s against the Islamic religion’
 (HD)

- (10.35) 
ē-ge tere-in komme kuḷuṁ.teri-aku=ves
 DEM3-GEN within-ABL every athlete-UNSP=EMPH
 ‘every athlete among them’ (HD)

10.1.5 Overall order

The overall order within a noun phrase is genitive, postpositional phrase, demonstrative, adjective, quantifier, noun, with some variability in the placement of non-numeric quantifiers. However, it is a rare noun phrase that contains all these elements. Some examples of noun phrases that contain at least three types of modifiers are in 10.36 through 10.38. Additionally, examples 10.30 and 10.34 also contain three kinds of modifiers.

- (10.36) 
mi=nu.rakkāteri hurihā hamalā-ek
 DEM1=dangerous all attack-INDF
 ‘all these dangerous attacks’ (HD)

- (10.37) *duniyē-ge mashhūru gina kuḷum.teri-n*
 world-GEN famous many athlete-PL
 ‘many of the world’s famous athletes’ (HD)

- (10.38) *japān-uge boḍu tiṅ siṭi-eḳ*
 Japan-GEN big three city-INDF
 ‘three big Japanese cities’ (HD)

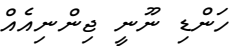
10.2 Conjunction and disjunction

Noun phrases may be co-ordinated with the suffixing co-ordinating particle *-āi* or *-ā*. This particle looks like the sociative case suffix, and is evidently historically related to it, the suffix having probably developed from the particle (Cain and Gair 2000: 18). However, the co-ordinating particle may be added to a noun that is already marked with another case (though it doesn’t have to—see example 10.41), while the sociative case cannot. It can also be attached to an infinitive verb. In 10.40, for example, the conjunctive particle is attached to a verbal noun in the dative case. Prescriptively, the co-ordinating particle is *-āi* and the sociative marker is *-ā*, but the distinction is often ignored in practice.



- (10.39) *de firihen̄ darī-nn=āi de anhen̄ darī-n̄*
 two male child.PL=CONJ two female child.PL
 ‘two sons and two daughters’ (KN)

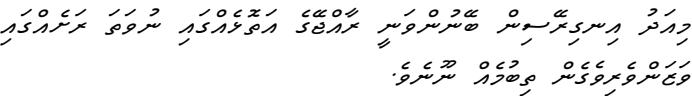
- (10.40) *ma‘ulūmātu dinum-aṣ=āi khiyālu fāḷu_kurum-aṣ̣*
 information give.VN-DAT=CONJ idea publication_do.VN-DAT
 ‘to give information and to publish ideas’ (DA)

When more than two noun phrases are conjoined, all but the last are followed by *-āi*, and *adi* ‘and, also’ is often added before the last noun phrase (in addition to the *-āi*), as shown in 10.41. The *adi* ‘and, also’ is not obligatory, however, as illustrated in 10.42. Commas may or may not be used, as these two examples also

(10.45) 

hanḍi nūnī jinni-ek
 spirit **or** genie-INDF
 ‘a spirit or genie’ (VN)

While the co-ordinating particle  -**āi** may occur in the context of negation, as in example 10.41, the disjunctive  **nuvata** ‘or’ may as well.

(10.46) 

miadu inḡirēsi-n bēnuṁ_vanī rājje-ge atoḷ-ek-gai
 today English-PL need_be.PRS.FOC country-GEN atoll-INDF-LOC
nuvatu *raṣ-ek-gai vazaṇ.veri-ve=gen tibum-ek*
or island-INDF-LOC settle-CNV=SUC be.located.VN-INDF
nūn=eve.
 NEG=END

‘Today the English do not want to be settled on an atoll **or** an island of the country [Maldives].’ (MI)

10.3 Noun-modifying clauses

Noun phrases may contain full clauses within them. These clauses may be participial, adjectival, or negative, but they do not contain finite verbs (inflected for both person and tense). Otherwise, the internal structure of these clauses is like other clauses, discussed more in Chapter 12 and Chapter 13. This section discusses their role in noun phrases.

10.3.1 Participles and participial clauses

Participles are partially inflected verb forms that are used to modify nouns. Dhivehi participles convey tense (past, present, or future), but not person. They often look like third-person forms of the verb and may therefore be confusing for a learner, but if a verb directly precedes a noun it is likely to be a participle. An apparent mismatch of person (a first-person subject with an apparently third-person verb) is also an indication that one has encountered a participle. The morphology of participles is described in Section 8.3.2.

Participles play a large role in Dhivehi syntax. The language has no relative pronouns, so it has no relative clauses as such. Instead, such concepts are expressed with *participial clauses*. In other words, Dhivehi uses the participle (noun-modifying) form of the verb rather than relative pronouns to connect such a description to the noun. While in English we may say either *a man-eating shark* or *a shark who eats people*, only the first type of construction is used in Dhivehi and only the second is used in English when the description is more than a word or two long. The fact that Dhivehi participial clauses always come before the noun they describe can make them very difficult for English speakers to mentally process, habituated as they are to processing such information *after* the noun it describes. English participles have only past and present forms, but Dhivehi also has future participles, exemplified in 10.50.

The use of participial clauses in Dhivehi is very similar to that of Sinhala, but is unlike the relative-correlative constructions of other Indo-Aryan languages. In this respect Dhivehi and Sinhala resemble their Dravidian neighbors rather than their Indo-Aryan relatives (Gair 1998 [1982]: 10–11). One important difference between Dhivehi and Sinhala, however, is that Dhivehi has a future participle but Sinhala only distinguishes past and non-past participles (Gair 1998 [1976]: 204–205). On the other hand, the nearby Dravidian languages Tamil and Malayalam also have a future participle (Annamalai and Steever 1998: 113, Krishnamurti 2003: 338).

The following are some examples of Dhivehi participial clauses.

- (10.47) *ām̐mu-koṣ̐ aharun hukuru_duvahu kurā kam-ek̐*
 general-ADV 1.PL Friday_day do.PRS.PTCP action-INDF
 ‘something we usually do on Fridays’ (SC)
- (10.48) *e=fada kuṣ̐-tak̐ kurā mihun̐*
 DEM3=kind crime-PL do.PRS.PTCP_people
 ‘people who commit such crimes [lit. such crimes doing people]’ (HD)
- (10.49) *vātu-n̐ kanāt-aṣ̐ liyunu akur-ek̐*
 left-ABL right-DAT write.PST.PTCP script-INDF
 ‘a script which was written from left to right [lit. a from left to right writing script]’ (DA)

- (10.50) *mi=vagutu kurevēne masakkat-eḵ*
 DEM1=time be.done.FUT.PTCP work-INDF
 ‘work which will be done at this time’ (HD)

Participial clauses precede quantifiers (10.51), demonstratives (10.52), and adjectives (10.53) that describe the same noun.

- (10.51) *‘alī mūsā_dīdī liyuvvi hataru fot-eḵ*
 Ali Moosa_Didi write.HON.PST.PTCP four book-INDF
 ‘four books which Ali Moosa Didi wrote’ (MI)

- (10.52) *kuriñ ufaddavā=fai_vā mi=bōḍ*
 earlier created.HON.CNV=SUCC_be.PTCP DEM1=board
 ‘this board which was previously created’ (HD)

- (10.53) *bandā acē-āi dimā-iñ kañḍu-ge aḍi-aṣṣ iyye*
 Banda Aceh-SOC direction-ABL sea-GEN bottom-DAT yesterday
menduru ai bāru.gada biṁ_heluṁ
 midday come.PST.PTCP strong earth_shake.VN
 ‘the strong earthquake which came to the sea floor from the direction of Banda Aceh midday yesterday’ (MI)

As illustrated in 10.54, more than one participial clause may describe the same noun by the syntactic operation of clause chaining described more fully in Section 13.1.

be triggered by the quantifier *koñme* ‘every, some’, analogous to the way quantifiers trigger the use of postpositional phrases inside noun phrases (illustrated in 10.35). Bare locatives also occur with verbal nouns, for which see Section 10.6.

- (10.57) *māle fiyavai, rājjē-gai mīhun diri.uļē koñme*
 Malé except country-LOC people live.PRS.PTCP every
raš-ek-gai=ves
 island-INDF-LOC=EMPH
 ‘on every inhabited island in the country except Malé’ (HD)

10.3.2 Adjectival and negative clauses

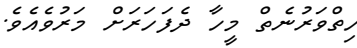
As described further in Section 12.1, adjectives can serve as predicators in sentences. They may also do so in noun-modifying clauses. Because such clauses do not contain participles, they are not technically participial clauses. However, they have the same structure, namely that of a clause which precedes and modifies a noun. The following is an example.

- (10.58) *mīhun emme gina atoļu*
 people single **many** atoll
 ‘the most populous atoll [lit. the atoll whose people are the **most**]’ (MN)

As mentioned in Section 6.7.3.1, some compound adjectives, such as *agu-heyo* ‘inexpensive’ (from *agu* ‘price’ and *heyo* ‘good’), appear to have been lexicalized from such adjectival clauses.

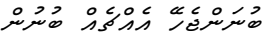
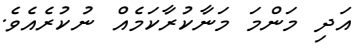
The negatives *nūñ* ‘[is] not’ and *neñ* ‘[there is] no(t)’ can also serve as predicators, and can thus also head a noun-modifying clause, as in the following examples. See Section 12.7.1 and Section 12.7.2 for the sentential use of these negatives.

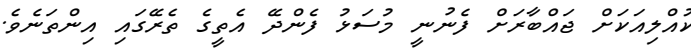
- (10.59) *mi musaļu-taku-ge ge-āi mā_duru nūñ hisāb-ek-gai*
 DEM1 rabbit-PL-GEN house-SOC great_far **NEG** place-INDF-LOC
 ‘in a place **not** too far from these rabbits’ home’ (PB)

- (10.60) 
 hiṽvaru_**neṭ** mīh-ā de_fahar-aṣṣ maru_ve-eve
 courage_NEG person-DEF two_time-ADV dead_be.PRS.3-END
 ‘The person who does **not** have courage dies twice.’ (HD)

10.3.3 Generic noun phrases as free relatives

In English, relative pronouns may be used to construct *free relatives*, that is, relative clauses that do not modify a head other than the relative pronoun itself, as in *They do what Mother says*. Since Dhivehi does not have relative pronouns, free relatives also do not exist in the language. However, generic nouns (see Section 5.5 for generic nouns) with modifying participial clauses fill the role of free relatives.

- (10.61) 
 bunan_jehē **ecc-ek** bunum
 say.INF_must.PRS.PTCP **thing-INDF** saying
 ‘saying **what** has to be said’ (HD)
- (10.62) 
 adi mamma manā_kurā_kam-ek
 Also mother forbidden_do.PRS.PTCP_ **action-INDF**
 nu=kure=eve
 NEG=do.PRS.3=END
 ‘And [they] do not do **what** [their] mother forbids.’ (PB)

- (10.63) 
 kulliakaṣṣ jabba-aṣṣ fenunī musaḷu feñ_dē
 suddenly Jabbaar-DAT see.PST.FOC rabbit water_give.PRS.PTCP
 eti-ge terē-gai iñ **tan=eve**
 thing-GEN inside-LOC sit.PST.PTCP **place=END**
 ‘Suddenly Jabbaar saw **where** the rabbit sat in the watering can.’ (PB)

10.4 Infinitive complements of nouns

Some nouns allow an infinitive complement. In the examples below, the noun and its infinitive complement is shown, as well as the verb of which the noun is itself a complement. It is possible that in at least some such cases the infinitive should best be considered the complement of a compound verb of which the noun is a part (see Section 11.1 for compound verbs).

- (10.64) *oṣōnnañ* *hudda_libenī*
lie.down.INF permission_receive.PRS.FOC
 ‘receives permission **to lie down**’ (HD)

- (10.65) *cāp_kurañ* *ōḍaru devvāne*
printing_do.INF order give.HON.FUT.3
 ‘will give the order **to print**’ (HD)

Certain adjectives may also take infinitive complements.

- (10.66) *hingañ* *fasēha nu=vānē*
administer.INF easy NEG=be.FUT.PTCP
 ‘will not be easy **to administer**’ (HD)

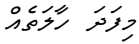
10.5 Comparisons and exclusions

Noun phrases may include comparisons and exclusions. The words that signal these functions, such as *fada* ‘manner’ or *fiyavai* ‘except, besides’ behave somewhat like postpositions, in that they take a noun phrase complement and relate it to the head noun. However, unlike the postpositions covered in Section 7.1, they do not assign case to their complement.¹ These comparative and exclusionary words may also take participial clauses as their complements. This section considers comparisons and exclusions made inside a noun phrase. For similar constructions at the clausal level, see Section 13.5.

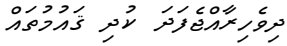
¹ Or, alternatively, they assign direct case to their objects. Since direct case is unmarked, the two statements are equivalent.

10.5.1 Comparative noun phrases

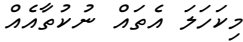
Comparisons within noun phrases are marked with the comparative word **kahala** ‘kind, sort’ or **fada** ‘manner’ or the ablative/instrumental **nisbatuñ** ‘in comparison (with)’. These words take either noun phrases (including demonstrative pronouns) or participial clauses as their complements. The following examples demonstrate noun phrase complements.

(10.67) 

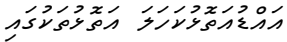
mi=fada hālat-ek
DEM1=manner situation-INDF
‘a situation **like** this’ (MI)

(10.68) 

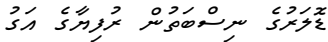
divehi_rājje_fada kudi qaumu-tak
Dhivehi_country_manner small.PL nation-PL
‘small nations **like** the Maldives’ (HD)

(10.69) 

mi=kahala etak nukutā-ek
DEM1=sort numerous point-PL
‘numerous points of this **sort**’ (MN)

(10.70) 

aḍḍu_atoḷu_kahala atoḷu-tak-ugai
Addu_Atoll_sort atoll-PL-LOC
‘in atolls **such as** Addu Atoll’ (HD)

(10.71) 

ḍolaru-ge nisbatu-ñ rufiyā-ge agu
dollar-GEN comparison-ABL rufiyaa-GEN value
‘the value of the rufiyaa **as compared to** the dollar’ (HD)

Comparisons may also be made with participial clauses, as in the following examples.

(10.72)

rayyituṃ ummīdu_kuri_ka**hala** hama.jehum-ekḥ
citizens hope_do.PST.PTCP_**sort** arrange.VN-INDF

‘an arrangement **of the sort** the citizens hoped for’ (HD)

(10.73)

faruhiyyā e bunā **fada** biruveti ecc-ekḥ
Faruhiyyaa DEM3 say.PRS.PTCP **manner** fearful thing-INDF

‘a fearsome thing **such as** Faruhiyyaa mentioned’ (VN)

A long list used as a comparison will tend to follow the comma style of conjunction and may (or may not) leave out the **adi** ‘and, also’. In 10.74, the single use of the co-ordinating particle **-ai** serves to link Sanskrit and the other North Indian languages more closely, as in the English translation. Otherwise the elements are simply co-ordinated with commas.

(10.74)

fārisī bas, sanskrit bah=**ai**, uturu inḍiyā-ge
Persian language Sanskrit language=**CONJ** north India-GEN

bas, afghanistān-uge bas_fada basbas
language Afghanistan-GEN language_manner language~REDUP

‘languages such as Persian, Sanskrit **and** the north Indian languages, and the languages of Afghanistan’ (MI)

(10.75)

emerikā, cainā, libiyā **adi** izrēl fada nufūzu.gada
America China Libya **and** Israel manner influential

qaumu-tak-uge sababu-ḥ
nation-PL-GEN reason-ABL

‘because of influential nations like America, China, Libya, **and** Israel’ (MI)

As 10.73 and 10.75 show, the comparison precedes other elements of the noun phrase, such as adjectives, as it is the entire rest of the noun phrase that is included in the comparison (‘fearful things’ in 10.73 and ‘influential nations’ in 10.75). Example 10.76 further illustrates this.

- (10.76) *bosniā haṅgurāma fada insāniyyat=ā khilāfu boḍeti*
 Bosnia war **manner** humanity=SOC against big.PL
jarīmā-tak
 crime-PL
 ‘great crimes against humanity **such as** the Bosnian War’ (MI)

10.5.2 Exclusionary noun phrases

Exclusion is marked with *fiyavai* ‘except, besides’, as in the following example (repeated from 10.57).

- (10.77) *māle fiyavai, rājjē-gai mihun diri.ūlē koñme*
 Malé **except** country-LOC people live.PRS.PTCP every
raş-ek-gai=ves
 island-INDF-LOC=EMPH
 ‘on every inhabited island in the country **except** Malé [lit. on every island on which people live in the country, except for Malé]’ (HD)

Like comparisons, exclusionary phrases precede all other elements of the noun phrase, as the contrast being made is with the entire rest of the phrase.

10.6 Verbal noun phrases

The foregoing sections focus on noun phrases which are headed by nouns that are not verbal nouns. Those headed by verbal nouns are somewhat different from typical noun phrases. A verbal noun is a nonfinite form of a verb that refers to the action of the verb and fills the role of a noun in a clause (see Section 8.3.3.3). Common uses of verbal nouns are as subjects and as complements of other verbs, though as 10.78 shows, they may also be the objects of postpositions. As appropriate to their role in a given sentence, they will take case suffixes like regular nouns. However, verbal nouns retain some of their verbal attributes, and so phrases built on verbal nouns have verb-phrase-like qualities, including the ability to take direct and indirect objects (as in 10.79) and to take the same adverbials (such as the locative noun phrases in 10.80) as the corresponding verbs.

- (10.78) *mi=kōhu-gai kiyavaidinum-aş=ţakai*
 DEM1=course-LOC **teaching.VN-DAT**=for
 ‘for the sake of **teaching** this course’ (HD)

- (10.79) *mi=haqqu-tak muazzafu-nn-aş dinum*
 DEM1=right-PL employee-PL-DAT **give.VN**
 ‘**giving** these rights to employees’ (HD)

- (10.80) *mi=raşu-gai jal-ek hedum*
 DEM1-island-LOC jail-INDF **make.VN**
 ‘**building** a jail on this island’ (HD)

Like infinitive phrases, verbal noun phrases may also serve as complements in noun phrases headed by other nouns, in which case they will be in the genitive case.

- (10.81) *şulha-veri siyāsī ħarakāt hingumu-ge minivan-kam*
 peace-ADJZ political activity **administer.VN-GEN** free-NMLZ
 ‘the freedom **to conduct** peaceful political activities’ (MI)

- (10.82) *foţ liyuvvumu-ge masakkat*
 book **write.HON.VN-GEN** work
 ‘the work **of writing** books’ (MI)

11 Compound Verbs, Verbal Collocations, and Verbal Complexes

This chapter turns to verbal syntax: how the collocation of verbs with nouns, with other verbs, and with nonfinite verbal clauses creates constructions with specific functions in Dhivehi. Three kinds of verbal constructions are considered here, distinguished by the syntactic integration of their components. First are those that are created at a very local syntactic level, such that the individual pieces of the construction are not separable except by affixes or clitics on the individual components (such as indefinite markers and negative or emphatic particles). These are termed *compounds* here. The second kind are those that may be separated by a successive particle (as well as negation); these are termed *collocations*. The third type operate at a larger syntactic level, in that the individual pieces may be removed from adjacency with each other in focus constructions. These are termed *verbal complexes* here.

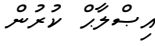
In many cases the examples are given in the sections below with the inflecting verb in the present progressive (citation) form. However, as all the examples are based on corpus texts or utterances (or occasionally elicited examples), examples not in the citation form have been left as they have been found, with only minor spelling adjustments for such things as the omission of the sentence-ending particle (which is only relevant to the citation of a complete sentence). Present-tense focus verbs and present progressive verbs look identical (see Section 8.3.2.1); they are glossed separately in the examples depending on their use in the original sentences. In longer examples, the relevant verbs are highlighted in bold in the transliteration, the gloss, and (where relevant) the translation to make the examples more accessible.

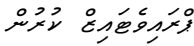
11.1 Noun-verb compounds

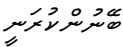
Unlike English, but like its South Asian relatives and neighbors, Dhivehi does not create or borrow new verbs. Thus one cannot use a new word, like *Google*, as a verb. Instead, Dhivehi uses nouns or adjectives and combines them with certain verbs known as *verbalizers* or *light verbs*. The term *verbalizer* is preferred here to distinguish such verbs from another kind of light verb, introduced in Section 11.2. The most common verbs used in this verbalizing function are ފަންނަ **kurani** ‘does’ and ވަނަ **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’. The verb ފަންނަ **kurani** is used to make active or transitive verbs, while ވަނަ **vani** is used to make inactive or intransitive verbs.¹ The verb ދެނި **deni** ‘gives’


¹ The distinction between active/transitive verbs and inactive/intransitive verbs is not always a clean one, but it can be said that ވަނަ **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’ creates verbal compounds that are on the whole less active than those created by ފަންނަ **kurani** ‘does’. For example,

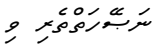
is also moderately common in this capacity, and **lanī** ‘puts’ also occurs sometimes. Such noun- or adjective- verb compounds are very common, as they are the only way to incorporate loanwords into the verbal system of Dhivehi, though they are not used exclusively with loanwords. In writing there is usually no space left between such a noun/adjective and the verb, but this is not a hard and fast rule, as the following examples (with spacing preserved from the original sources) show. Sometimes, as in 11.2, the loanword was neither a noun nor an adjective in the original language, but it is filling the role of one in the Dhivehi construction.

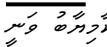
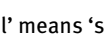
- (11.1) 
iṣlāḥ kurum
 reform do.VN
 ‘reforming’ (HD)

- (11.2) 
praiveṭaiz kurum
 privatize do.VN
 ‘privatizing’ (HD)

- (11.3) 
bēnum kuranī
 use_do.PRS.FOC
 ‘uses’ (SC)

- (11.4) 
fās vanī
 passed_be.PRS.PROG
 ‘is passing, is passed’ (HD)

- (11.5) 
naṣṣeḥaṭṭeri vi
 advice.ADJZ be.PST.3
 ‘advised/instructed’ (PB)

 **kāmīyābu vanī** ‘is successful’ means ‘succeeds’ or ‘wins’ and is used (for example) in the context of winning an election, but  **kāmīyābu kuranī** is used to refer to the more vigorous activity of winning a sports game.

- (11.6) *سَابَس دَنِ*
sābas_denī
 praise_give.PRS.PROG
 ‘is praising’ (HD)

- (11.7) *وَوُت لَانِ*
vōṭu_lanī
 vote_put.PRS.FOC
 ‘votes’

A number of other verbs, such as *گَنَنِ* **gannanī** ‘takes, buys’ and the others below, are regularly found with certain nouns to form compounds where an English speaker might expect a single verb. However, these other verbs are not productively used to incorporate loanwords. The verb *گَنَنِ* **gannanī** usually means ‘buys’ when it stands alone in the modern language; however, historically it meant ‘takes’ or ‘gets’, and that meaning is preserved when it is used in compounds.

- (11.8) *بِرُ گَنَنِ*
biru_gannanī
 fear_take.PRS.PROG
 ‘is frightened’ (HD)

- (11.9) *وَاہَا دَاکَنَنِ*
vāhaka_dakkani
 speech_show.PRS.PROG
 ‘is speaking’ (HD)

- (11.10) *بَاڊِي جَاهَانِ*
baḍi_jahañ
 gun_strike.INF
 ‘to shoot’ (SC)

- (11.11) *کُوس تَاڻَانِ*
kus_taḷaṇ
 whining_beat.INF
 ‘to whine’ (PB)

All such noun-verb compounds are negated by prefixing the negative particle **nu-** to the actual verb, not to the compound as a whole. This is true whether or not there is an orthographic space between the noun and the verb. When there is no space, as in 11.12, learners may find the negative easy to miss. The inclusion of an indefinite marker (required for the negation of a finite verb, see Section 12.7) makes spacing between the two elements of the compound more likely.

(11.12) *رَدَّ سِرَّ لَمْ يَكُنْ*

hāma nu=kurevunu
open NEG=be.done.PST.PTCP
'was not disclosed' (HD)

(11.13) *بِرْ عَكَّ سِرَّ لَمْ يَكُنْ*

bir-eḳ nu=gannāne
fear-INDF NEG=take.FUT.3
'will not be afraid' (HD)

(11.14) *وَوَّ عَكَّ سِرَّ لَمْ يَكُنْ*

vōṭ-eḳ nu=lāne
vote-INDF NEG=put.FUT.3
'will not vote' (HD)

11.2 Verb-verb compounds and collocations

Verbs combine with converbs at a number of levels. The two closest of those, in which the converb may not be separated from the inflected verb by the creation of a focus construction, are discussed in this section.² The inflected verbs in these constructions are known as *light verbs* (though not as *verbalizers* in this usage, which is reserved for the verbs in the noun/adjective-verb compounds presented in Section 11.1) or as *vector verbs* or *explicator verbs*. The term *light verb* derives from the fact that such verbs add only a nuance of meaning to the construction rather than the full lexical meaning that these verbs have when they are used alone. Thus these verbs are considered semantically "bleached" or "light." While the light verb receives the inflection appropriate

² For converb-verb complexes that convey aspect, see Section 11.3.1.1. Other uses of converbs are discussed in Section 13.1.

to the clause, the verb it is added to (which will be in the converb form) identifies the action, providing the majority of the verbal meaning.³

At the closest syntactic level, converbs combine tightly with a small set of light verbs which add some nuance of meaning to that provided by the converb. Certain honorific verbs are created from similar converb-verb compounds. The light verb and honorific compounds contrast with certain suffixed verb forms which are also formed from converbs but do not have lexical verbs as their second element.

At a slightly looser syntactic level, converbs combine with light verbs drawn from the verbs of basic motion. Again, the converb provides most of the semantic content to the construction, but the verb of basic motion receives the inflections and adds directionality: whether the motion associated with the converb was toward or away from some point of reference. These verbal constructions, termed here *collocations*, are often interrupted by a successive particle (ﻓﺎﻱ -**fai** or ﻏﻨﻰ -**gen**).⁴

There is often no space inserted between the semantically dominant converb and the light verb or honorific element, but as the examples in the subsequent subsections show, usage is variable in this regard. The particle of verbal negation, ﻧﯘ -**nu**-, appears inside both compounds and collocations—prefixed to the inflected verb, where it may easily be missed by the learner in the absence of spacing.

11.2.1 Converb-verb compounds and pseudo-compounds

11.2.1.1 Light verb compounds

Light verb constructions are typical of South Asian languages (Masica 1991: 326–330). Compared to other South Asian languages, Dhivehi uses a relatively small set of light verbs to make such compounds.

The most common Dhivehi light verb is ﻻﻧﻲ **lanī** ‘puts’. Its use as a light verb—joined with a semantically dominant converb—is ubiquitous, far more common than its use as a simple verb meaning ‘puts’. When added to a converb in this way it generally indicates that the action was deliberate (Cain and Gair 2000: 27). In many contexts this adds a sense of politeness, as it is often polite to imply that others are acting of their own volition. It implies engagement and involvement on the part of the agent. In certain contexts, however, it may be accusatory, emphasizing that someone did something bad on purpose. However, the meaning added by ﻻﻧﻲ **lanī** is subtle, to the extent that native speakers have a difficult time describing its contribution to a sentence. It would rarely receive an explicit translation in English, as the translation line in the following examples illustrates. Converbs that ordinarily end in ﻋﺎﻱ -**ai** (the converbs

³ The light verb itself may be in the converb form, but that will depend on the syntactic construction in which it occurs. The other verb will necessarily be in the converb form.

⁴ See Section 13.1 for the use of successive particles in multi-clause sentences.

of regular a-stem verbs) end in ـا -ā before the various inflectional forms of لانی **lanī**, as in 11.15. Thus they look like present participles, but the behavior of verbs whose converbs do not end in ـای -ai or ـا -ā (as in the نکومے **nukume** ‘go out.CNV’ in 11.16) shows that these are actually converbs.

- (11.15) نیمما لانی
nimmā_lanī
 decide.CNV_put.PRES.PROG
 ‘is deciding’ (HD)

- (11.16) $\text{بہر اڈ نکومے لای گہ}$
bēr-aḡ_nukume lai=geñ
 outside-DAT_go.out.CNV put.CNV=SUCCE
 ‘having gone outside’ (SC)

Using the verb دینے **denī** ‘gives’ with the converb of another verb implies that the action is done for someone else.⁵ Its use in phrasal imperatives, described in Section 8.3.4.1, is part of this usage: performing the requested action will please someone else. (The light verb لانی **lanī** ‘puts’ may also be part of phrasal imperatives, implying that although one is being asked to perform an action, one is doing it of one’s own volition.) The person(s) for whom the action is done may or may not be explicitly stated. In the cases where it is not, this benefactive دینے **denī** adds information that would not normally be present in an English translation.

- (11.17) سبسڈائز کو دینے
sabsiḡaiz_koḡ_denī
 subsidize_do.CNV_give.PRS.PROG
 ‘is subsidizing’ (HD)

Some دینے **denī** constructions have taken on a specific meaning of their own and may be considered lexicalized compounds, as in 11.18.

- (11.18) کیائی دینے
kiyai_denī
 recite.CNV_give.PRS.PROG
 ‘is narrating, is telling’ (HD)

5 By contrast, and in contrast with other Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 328), ‘take’ is *not* used to mean ‘do something for one’s self’. There is no light verb in Dhivehi that carries such a self-benefactive meaning.

Other light verbs are rather less common. The verb **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ** **gannanī** ‘takes, gets, buys’, according to Cain and Gair, is added to converbs to “indicate doing something unreservedly or with abandon” (Cain and Gair 2000: 27). It does seem to mean that at times, as when it combines with ‘run’ (in the causative form) in 11.19. However, it is often included with ‘walk’ to describe setting out for a walk, as in 11.20, in which case no particular unreservedness is implied. As with **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ** **lanī** ‘puts’, it is difficult for native speakers to verbalize the contribution **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ** **gannanī** makes to a sentence when used in such a construction. Comparison with English *take* is perhaps instructive: one might say someone *took to doing something* or *took off running*.

- (11.19) **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ**
pilāsī-ge fahatun duvvai_gaŋ
 Pilaasee-GEN after run.CAUS.CNV_take.PST.3
 ‘set off running after Pilaasee’ (PB)

- (11.20) **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ**
ge-aŋ annaŋ hiŋgai_gaŋ
 house-DAT come-INF walk.CNV_take.PST.3
 ‘set out to walk home’ (VN)

The verb **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ** **hadanī** ‘makes’ is another verb that can be used as a light verb. Reynolds reports that this adds “no additional meaning” to the semantically dominant converb (Reynolds 2003: 378), and indeed it is difficult to assign any specific sense to it. More work is clearly needed here.

- (11.21) **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ**
bīru_kanfāt-ek dī hadanī
 deaf_ear-INDF give.CNV make.PRS.FOC
 ‘turns a deaf ear’ (PB)

All light verb constructions are negated on the light verb rather than on the semantically dominant converb. When the light verb is finite, the converb will take the indefinite/negative concord particle **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ** **-ek**, as in 11.23. (For more on negative concord, see Section 12.7.) Other morphemes do not break up the compound.

- (11.22) **گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ گٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ**
fenu-ge ehī-ek fōru_koŋ_nu=dī-fi
 water-GEN help-INDF reach_do.CNV_NEG=give.CNV-PRF.PTCP
 ‘has **not** provided water assistance’ (MN)

- (11.23) *ḥatīyāru dū_koṣ-eḵ_nu=lāne*
 weapon loose_do.CNV-**INDF_NEG**=put.FUT.3
 ‘will **not** let go of [their] weapons’ (HD)

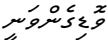
As 11.24 shows, an adverbial demonstrative will appear on the converb, not on the light verb. Also illustrated is the fact that a light verb construction that is honorific will express this by using an honorific light verb with a regular (nonhonorific) converb.

- (11.24) *e=bēḥuḥu-n̄ e=koṣ_devvi khidmaṭ-taḵ*
 DEM3=aristocrat-PL **DEM3**=do.CNV_give.HON.PST.PTCP service-PL
 ‘the services which those gentlemen rendered’ (HD)

11.2.1.2 Honorific compounds

Irregular honorific verbs (described in Section 8.1.2) are created from converb-verb or similar combinations which have become lexicalized as compounds, though structurally they resemble the off-the-cuff combinations with light verbs such as *lanī* ‘puts’ and *denī* ‘gives’ presented in Section 11.2.1.1. Some such honorific verbs are formed from a special uninflecting honorific element combined with an inflecting verb (which is itself honorific in some cases but not in others). Others are created with the converb of the corresponding non-honorific verb as the first part and an honorific verb (which may itself have been created by compounding) as the second, inflecting part. Examples of the first type (the honorific element coming first) are given below.

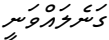
- (11.25) *vidāḥu_vanī*
 say.HHON_be.PRS.PROG
 ‘says (high honorific)’ (HD)
- (11.26) *vaḍai_gannavanī*
 come/go.HHON_get.HON.PRS.PROG
 ‘comes/goes (high honorific)’ (HD)

(11.27) *voḍigenḥ_vanī*

DHON_be.PRS.PROG

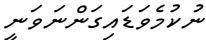
‘[God] is (divine honorific)’ (HV)

Examples of the second type, in which the initial converb is the plain (non-honorific) converb and the inflecting verb provides the honorific information are given below.

(11.28) *gane_lavvanī*

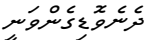
buy.CNV_put.HON.PRS.PROG

‘buys (mid honorific)’ (FW1)

(11.29) *nukume_vaḍai_gannavanī*

go.out.CNV_come/go.HHON_get.HON.PRS.PROG

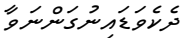
‘goes out (high honorific)’ (HD)

(11.30) *dene_voḍigenḥ_vanī*

know.CNV_DHON_be.PRS.PROG

‘[God] knows (divine honorific)’ (HD)

All the above honorific compounds function as single verbs semantically, but they are internally negated, with the ^{نَـ}**-nu-** prefixed to the last element (which may be the third, as in 11.31). The negative-concord indefinite suffix will be seen on the element before the ^{نَـ}**-nu-** if the verb is finite, as in 11.32 and 11.33.

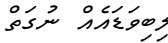
(11.31) *deke_vaḍai_nu=gannavā*

see.CNV_come/go.HHON_NEG=get.HON.PRS.PTCP






‘**not** seeing (high honorific)’ (HD)(11.32) *vidāl-ek_nu=vi*


say.HHON-NEGC_NEG=be.PST.3


‘did **not** say (high honorific)’ (HD)

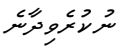
- (11.33) 
libi_vada-ek *nu=gat*
 receive.CNV_come/go.HHON-NEGC NEG=get.PST.3
 'did **not** receive (high honorific)' (HD)

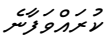
11.2.1.3 Compound-like suffixed verbs

Structurally, verbs which take the potential markers  - **fāne** and  - **dāne**, the perfect marker  - **fi** or the successive particles  - **fai** and  - **geñ** resemble the compounds presented above in that the first (more meaningful) element is a converb and the second contributes some meaning to it and is (historically, at least) an inflected verb form (see Section 8.3.4.2). However, the negation in such verbs does not attach to the suffixed particle (the historical light verb), but to the first, converb element. Similarly, when such verbs are honorific, the honorific element will be the converb, not the inflected element, as in 11.37. Thus one can say that the inflected elements in these verbs have become grammaticalized and are no longer independent lexical items.

- (11.34) 
nu=koṣ-fi
 NEG=do.CNV-PRF.PTCP
 'has not done' (HD)

- (11.35) 
nu=dī-fāne
 NEG=give.CNV-POT.3
 'might not give' (HD)

- (11.36) 
nu=kurevi-dāne
 NEG=be.done.CNV-POT.3
 'might not be done' (HD)

- (11.37) 
kuravva-fāne
 do.HON.CNV-POT.3
 'might do' (HD)

11.2.2 Converb-verb collocations with verbs of motion

The verb **دانی** *dani* ‘goes’ is used to indicate the direction of a motion that is specified by the converb: away from some point of reference. The verb **آنانی** *annani* ‘comes’ may be used to indicate that a motion was toward some point of reference. Unlike in the light verb compounds described in Section 11.2.1.1, converbs in these constructions often appear with successive particles (**فای** -*fai* or **گه** -*geñ*). Hence they are termed *collocations* rather than compounds here.

- (11.38) **لَوْنِ اَوَّلِ بَارِ اَکْ لَآ فَاي**
leven_oŋ bār-ek lā=fai
 be.put_be(.lying).CNV strength-INDF put.CNV=SUCCL
دُووِ دَی رَن اَوَّلِ دَی
duve_dē run.CNV_go.PST.3
 ‘**ran away** as hard as [he] could’ (PB)

- (11.39) **لَوْنِ اَوَّلِ بَارِ اَکْ لَآ فَاي**
lolu-ñ karuna hiñgai=geñ_diya
 eye-ABL tear walk=SUCCLgo.PST.3
 ‘tears **rolled from** [her] eyes’ (KN)

- (11.40) **فُوْل سَپْلَاي مَوْلِدِیْصِجِیْ وَنِ اَمِیْرُ اَحْمَدُ مَآگُ نِ**
fiul saplai mōldivs-ge vēñ amīru_ahmadu magu-ñ
 Fuel Supply Maldives-GEN van Ameer_Ahmad street-ABL
دُووِ دَی رَن اَوَّلِ دَی
duvvā=fai_ais
drive.CNV=SUCCLcome.CNV
 ‘the Fuel Supply Maldives van **came driving** from Ameer Ahmad Street’
 (HD)

Collocations with **دانی** *dani* may be used in a metaphorical sense to emphasize that something is gone—that the event presented by the converb resulted in the loss, removal, or disappearance of something.

- (11.41) **رَآشْ مَوْلِیْنِ وِیْرَانَا وَیْ جَیْنِ دَی**
raş muliñ vīrānā_ve=gen_diya
 island wholly depopulated_be.CNV=SUCCLgo.PST.PTCP
 ‘the island was completely **depopulated**’ (MI)

A possibly related use of *danī* is illustrated in 11.42, which speakers have variously described as meaning that the experiencers were personally and deeply affected or that the experience of receiving was not physical, but rather of something intangible. More work is needed to understand this usage.

(11.42) *atoļu terē ge raṣ~raṣu-ge rayyitu-nn-aṣ*

atoll_among island~REDUP-GEN citizen.PL-DAT

libi=geñ diyai kulli sihuñ

receive.CNV=SUCC_go.PST.FOC sudden scare

‘the citizens of (various) islands among the atolls **received** a sudden scare’
(MI)

The verb *annanī* ‘comes’ can also be used to describe an event that has come about, i.e., metaphorically come.

(11.43) *mi=hurahā kam-ek dimā ve=geñ ai*

DEM1=all_action-INDF facing_be=SUCC come.PST.FOC

‘all these things have come about/happened’ (HD)

11.3 Verbal complexes

Auxiliaries and modals and certain other verbs are further types of verbs that occur in combination with other verbs (or, more precisely, verb phrases or verbal clauses). Although there is a basic word order in which the modals, auxiliaries, and other inflecting verbs will immediately follow the infinitives, converbs, or participles that head their complements, focus constructions (see Section 12.5 as well as examples such as 11.47 and 11.48 below) frequently disrupt this order, demonstrating that these combinations operate on a larger and looser syntactic scale than the compounds and collocations discussed so far in this chapter. Thus they are termed *verbal complexes* here. In Dhivehi both auxiliaries and modals are inflected verbs that combine with uninflected verbs. Auxiliaries add aspectual meaning, providing information about how an event or action unfolds in time. Dhivehi auxiliaries combine with converb-headed clauses or with participial clauses whose participles carry the simultaneous timing particle *-muñ* (introduced in Section 8.3.5). Modals express concepts like ability and obligation (‘can’, ‘could’, ‘should’, etc.). Such verbs combine with infinitive verbs (or infinitive-headed phrases, to be more precise), as do existential verbs and certain other verbs, as described further below in Section 11.3.2.

Some verbs, depending on the form of the verb they combine with, may be either modals or auxiliaries. For example, the verb **vanī** ‘is, becomes, happens’ may function in verbal constructions not only as a verbalizer (as described above in Section 11.1), but also a modal expressing possibility or obligation, and an auxiliary marking perfect aspect. Which function it is performing depends on what kind of word it is combining with. When **vanī** combines with a noun or adjective, it has a verbalizing function. The modal meaning occurs when it combines with an infinitive verb, and the aspectual meaning occurs when it is combined with a converb.

11.3.1 Auxiliary complexes

The auxiliary verbs in Dhivehi are drawn from the verbs of existence and location and the verbs of basic motion. The verbs of existence and location include the basic existential **vanī** ‘is, becomes, happens’, the durative existential **ulenī** ‘lives, exists’, the locational **tibenī** ‘are located’, and the locational/postural **hunnani** ‘is (standing)’, **onnani** ‘is (lying)’, and **innani** ‘is (sitting)’.⁶ The verbs of basic motion include **dani** ‘goes’, **gendani** ‘takes away’, and **annani** ‘comes’. The existential and locational verbs combine with phrases headed by converbs (generally suffixed with successive particles), and verbs of motion combine with phrases headed by participles marked with the simultaneous particle **-muñ**.

11.3.1.1 Auxiliary-converb complexes

Existential and locational verbs other than **ulenī** ‘lives, exists’ are used in combination with a converb to yield a perfect meaning. This perfect construction is used to describe past events that are considered to have present relevance. Thus a news article, for example, will tend to have many verbal complexes of this type. Although this construction is analogous in meaning to the English perfect (which uses *have* as its auxiliary), it is used more commonly, often occurring throughout the text of a news report, for example.

As illustrated in the following examples, these perfect constructions use a successive particle, either **-fai** or **-gen** (more often **-fai**), emphasizing that the action described by the converb happened before the state of continued existence described by the auxiliary. In an honorific context, the converb will be in the honorific form, as will the verb if it is locational/postural (as in 11.45), but usually not if it is the plain existential **vanī** ‘is, becomes, happens’ (as in 11.46).

⁶ Further uses of existential and locational verbs are described in Section 12.6.

(11.44)

*e=kahala kam-tak koṣ=fa_hurī*DEM3=sort action-PL **do.CNV=SUCC_be(.standing).PST.FOC**‘things of that sort **have been done** [lit. things like that stand, having been done]’ (SC)

(11.45)

*qaumi rekōřđ hāṣilu_kuravvai=geñ*national record achievement_**do.HON.CNV=SUCC****hunnevi****be(.standing).HON.PST.PTCP**‘[who] **had achieved** the national record [lit. (who) was standing, having achieved the national record]’ (MI)

(11.46)

*e=siṭi-fuḷu-gai**liyuvvā=fai**vē*DEM3=letter-HON-LOC **write.HON.CNV=SUCC be.PRS.3**‘**has written** in that letter [lit. is, having written in that letter]’ (HD)

If the inflected existential or locational verb is in the focus form, it may be separated from the converb.

(11.47)

*eheñ.kamuñ fuluhun_vanī**baek mihuñ*therefore police_**be.PRES.FOC** some people*hayyaru_koṣ=fa=eve*arrest_**do.CNV=SUCC=END**‘Therefore the police **have arrested** some people. [lit. Therefore the police are, having arrested some people]’ (MN)

(11.48)

emme_furatama duvahu=ves alugañdu-men_oti
 single_first day=EMPH 1.DEFR-PL_be(.lying).PST.FOC
kosōvō-ge minivañ.karñ qabūlu_kurañ nimmā-fai
 Kosovo-GEN independence approve_do.INF **decide.CNV=SUCC**
 ‘On the very first day we **decided** to recognize the independence of Kosovo.’ (HD)

The auxiliary-converb, or periphrastic, perfect is similar in meaning to the suffixed perfect with -**fi** or -**jje** (presented in Section 8.3.3.1). However, as example 11.47 and 11.48 above demonstrate, the periphrastic auxiliary-converb perfect can be used to focus the converb phrase, resulting in an informational structure like ‘What the police have done is arrested some people’ for 11.47 (see Section 8.3.2.1 for more on focus). Only tensed verbs can take focus marking, so a perfect with -**fi** or -**jje** (created from tenseless converbs) cannot create a focus construction in this way. Additionally, the periphrastic perfects may occur in any tense, while the suffixed perfect is formally tenseless and has a recent past interpretation. Example 11.49 illustrates the use of the future perfect.

(11.49)

gina masakkaṭ-tak-ek koṣ=fai vāne
 many work-PL-INDF **do.CNV=SUCC be.FUT.PTCP**
 ‘a lot of work **will have been done**’ (HD)

The durative existential verb **uḷenī** ‘lives, exists’ combined with a converb indicates habitual aspect, i.e., something that is regularly or habitually true, not just at a particular moment.⁷ Although a verb that is not explicitly marked with an aspect is interpreted as having habitual aspect in many contexts, the use of **uḷenī** makes the habitual aspect explicit. Thus 11.50 means ‘speaks this language’ in the sense of using it in general, rather than speaking it at a particular time. In the past tense, **uḷenī** with a converb can be translated as ‘used to’, as in 11.52. The converb may be followed by a successive particle, which will almost always be -**gen** and not -**fai**, as in 11.51. Also illustrated in 11.51 is the fact that the auxiliary may carry an adverbial demonstrative (unlike a light verb).

⁷ However, **diri-uḷenī**, created from the converb **direnī** ‘lives’, is simply a compound which means ‘lives’.

- (11.50) *mi bahu-n̄ vāhaka dakkai uḷenī*
 this language-ABL speech show.CNV live.PRS.PROG
 ‘speaks this language [habitually]’ (DW)

- (11.51) *aslu aḷugañḍu-menn-aṣ ves uñdagū ve=gen̄*
 real 1.DEFR-PL-DAT EMPH difficulty_be.CNV=SUC
mi=uḷenī
 DEM1=live.PRS.PROG
 ‘We are really **having difficulties** [on a regular basis].’ (SC)

- (11.52) *daturu.faturu_koṣ uḷunu*
 journeys_do.CNV live.PST.PTCP
 ‘used to travel’ (DW)

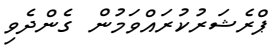
11.3.1.2 Auxiliary-simultaneous complexes

Certain verbs of basic motion combine with verbs in the simultaneous form, ending in *-muṇ*, to give a durative aspect, indicating the continuing, ongoing nature of an action. These verbs are *danī* ‘goes’, *annanī* ‘comes’, and *gendanī* ‘takes away’, as well as their honorific forms. All three verbs provide a durative sense, and the difference between them is subtle. Speakers suggest that using *annanī* suggests that one is more closely linked to or affected by the action, while using *gendanī* suggests that the agent is behaving volitionally. *danī* is therefore the most neutral verb in this context. However, speakers find these distinctions hard to verbalize, and the foregoing description may be far from complete.

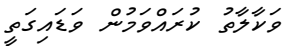
- (11.53) *diri_uḷe=muṇ diya*
 live_live=SIML_go.PST.3
 ‘were living [on an ongoing basis]’ (PB)

These durative constructions are usually made honorific by making both the participle and the auxiliary verb of motion honorific, as illustrated in 11.54 and 11.55. However, one may also encounter cases where the auxiliary verb of motion is not honorific,

especially if the relevant honorific verb would be the suppletive **vaḍai-gannavani** ‘comes/goes, HHON’ rather than **gendavani** ‘takes away.HON’.

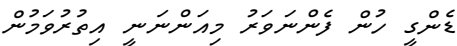
(11.54) 

presharu_kuravva=muñ gendevi
pressure_do.HON.=SIML take.HON.PST.PTCP
‘continued to pressure’ (MN)

(11.55) 

vakālātu kuravva=muñ vaḍai-gati
advocacy do.HON.=SIML come/go.HHON.PST.FOC
‘continued to advocate’ (HD)

The order and/or contiguity of these simultaneous-motion verb complexes may be disrupted in focus constructions. In 11.56, for example, the verb of motion comes first, in focus form, and the simultaneous-marked verb appears afterward. This example 11.56 also illustrates that an adverbial demonstrative may appear on the auxiliary verb of motion, as with existential auxiliaries.

(11.56) 

ḍengī huñ fennavaru mi=annanī ituru_va=muñ
dengue fever incidence DEM1=come.FOC additional_be=SIML
‘the incidence of dengue fever **is continuing to increase** here’ (MN)

For other, nonaspectual uses of clauses marked with simultaneous particles, see Section 13.4.2.

11.3.2 Verbs taking infinitive complements

A number of Dhivehi verbs may take infinitive complements. They are divided into two classes here. The first is that of the existential and locational verbs and the verb **jeheni** ‘is struck’, which have different senses (often modal) when used with infinitives than they do in other contexts. The second is a group of verbs that take infinitive complements while retaining the sense that they have in other contexts, such as when they take a noun phrase complement.

11.3.2.1 Modals and existential/locational verbs

Modal verbs, which encode such concepts as obligation and possibility, are not a separate inflectional category of verbs in Dhivehi as they are in English; rather they are special uses of fully inflecting verbs that usually have other meanings in other contexts. For example, ޖެހެނި *jeheni* generally means ‘is struck’, ‘is stuck’, ‘touches’, or ‘happens’, but means ‘has to’ or ‘must’ when combined with an infinitive.

Usage varies as to whether honorific status is marked on both the infinitive and the modal or just on the infinitive. In example 11.57 the honorific status is marked only on the infinitive ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު *kuravvañ* ‘to do (hon)’ and not on the modal participle ޖެހެ *jehē*, while in 11.58 the honorific status is marked on both verbs.

- (11.57) ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު
e=bēfulu-n kuravvañ_jehē masakkaṭ
 DEM3=aristocrat-PL do.HON.INF_is.struck.PRS.PTCP work
 ‘the work which those honourable people **must do**’ (HD)

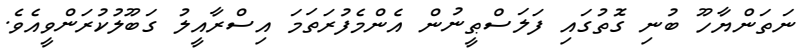
- (11.58) ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު ފުރުޞަތު
kuravvan jehi_vaḍai.gannavā eheniheñ
 do.HON.INF is.struck_come/go.HHON.PRS.PTCP several.other
kaṁ-tak-tak
 action-PL~PL
 ‘several other things that **need to be done**’ (HD)

Negation is on the modal verb, and the accompanying infinitive takes the negative-concord form ending in ފަންނަ -*ākaṣ*, as in 11.59, if the modal verb is finite.

- (11.59) ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ ފަންނަ
zimmā_ufulākaṣ nu=jehē
 responsibility_carry.INF.NEGC NEG=is.struck.PRS.3
 ‘should **not** bear responsibility’ (HD)

The existential and locational verbs, when combined with infinitives, have uses that cover a range of related senses, some of which are clearly modal (‘should do’, ‘can do’, ‘wants to do’) and others are less so (‘is there to be done’, ‘tries to do’). The precise range varies somewhat according to the specific verb and may be confusing to a learner.

The verb ވަނި *vani* ‘is, becomes, happens’ often functions as a modal of obligation (‘should’ or ‘ought’) when used with an infinitive, as it also does in a number of other Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 380).

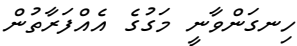
(11.60) 

natanyāhū buni gotu-gai falasṭīnu-n emme_furatama
 Netanyahu say.PST.PTCP way-LOC Palestine-PL single_first

isrāilu gabūlu_kurañ_vī=eve

Israel approve_do.INF_be.PST.3=END



‘According to Netanyahu, Palestine **should** first **recognize** Israel.’ (HD)

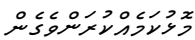
(11.61) 

hiṅgañ_vānī magu-ge ek_farātu-n

walk.INF_be.FUT.FOC street-GEN one_side-ABL

‘**should/will need to walk** on one side of the street’ (D3)


At other times the meaning of  **vānī** ‘is, becomes, happens’ with an infinitive is somewhat different. Thus in 11.62 the meaning is ‘wants to’. This construction, created with the converb form accompanied by the particle  **-geñ**, is often used to present an intention or wish which serves as the motivation for doing what is described in the main clause of the sentence (see Section 13.1.1 for the use of such clauses in full sentences).

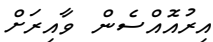
(11.62) 

moḷu_kam-ek_kurañ_vegeñ

noble_action-INDF_do.INF_be.CNV=SUCC

‘**wanting** to do something noble’ (SC)



When the subject is inanimate, the meaning of  **vānī** with an infinitive is ‘about to’ rather than ‘wants to’ or ‘should’.

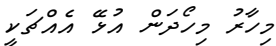
(11.63) 

iru_osseñ vā_ir-aṣ

sun_set.INF be.PRS.PTCP_time-DAT

‘until the sun **is about to set**’ (PB)

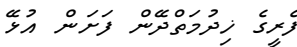
The durative existential  **uḷenī** ‘lives, exists’ also has ‘want to’ and ‘about to’ senses when used with an infinitive. In 11.64  **uḷenī** means ‘want to’ or ‘try to’. (See 11.85 for another example.) In 11.65 it means ‘about to’.





(11.64) 

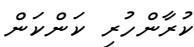
mihāru mi=hōdanī uḷē ecc=akī

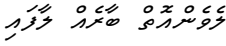
now DEM1=seek.INF live.PRS.PTCP thing=COP

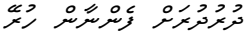
‘what [I] am **trying to find out** now is...’ (SC)

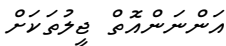
- (11.65) 
ferīge khidumat_dēñ faṣaṇ ulē
 ferry-GEN service_give.INF **begin.INF** **live.PRS.PTCP**
 ‘about to begin providing ferry service’ (MI)


The locational and postural verbs,  **hunnani** ‘stands, is’,  **onnani** ‘lies, is’,  **innani** ‘sits, is’, and  **tibenī** ‘are located’, carry the meaning of ‘is there to be [done]’ or ‘remains to be [done]’ when combined with an infinitive, often with a sense of obligation (as in 11.66), or of possibility (as in 11.67 and 11.68), but not necessarily (as in 11.69). The particular verb used is determined by what physical position the objects or concepts discussed are in or are conventionally imagined to be.

- (11.66) 
kurāñ huri *kaṁ~kaṁ*
do.INF_be(standing).PST.PTCP action~REDUP
 ‘(various) things which remain **to be [i.e., should be] done**’ (MN)

- (11.67) 
leven of *bār-ek* *lā=fai*
is.put_be(lying).PST.PTCP strength-INDF put.PRS.PTCP=SUC
 ‘applying the strength **which was [there]** to be applied [i.e., as hard as he could]’ (PB)

- (11.68) 
duru~dur-aṣ *fennāñ* *hurē*
 distance~REDUP-DAT **be.seen.INF** **is(standing).PRS.3**
 ‘**are to be seen** [i.e., can be seen] from a distance’ (PB)

- (11.69) 
anna of *jilu-tak-aṣ*
come.INF_be(lying)PST.PTCP generation-PL-DAT
 ‘to the generations which **are to come**’ (HD)

Complexes of infinitives with locational/postural verbs may have an entirely different meaning, however, which is more like ‘be there doing X’, which conveys a progressive aspect but also a location and/or a posture. The particular postural verb used depends on the physical posture of the agent/subject. If the subject is plural, 

tibenī ‘are located’ is used. The difference between these constructions, exemplified in 11.70 through 11.72, and those in 11.66 through 11.69 above is that the infinitive verbs below have an agent as a subject (being volitive verbs) and the agent-subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the existential verb. By contrast, the infinitive verbs in 11.66 through 11.69 are either IN-verbs (as in 11.67 and 11.68) or have a different subject from that of the locational/postural verb (as in 11.66, where the agent of **kurāñ** ‘do.INF’ is not specified but is not the subject of **huri** ‘stand.PST.PTCP’). The verb **annani** ‘comes’ is not morphologically an IN-verb, but has uses which are non-volitional, as in 11.69.

(11.70) **foṭō nagañ_huri**

photo take.INF_be(.standing).PST.PTCP
 ‘[who] was taking pictures’ (HD)

(11.71) **kāru duvvañ_inī**

car drive_be(.sitting).PST.FOC
 ‘was driving the car’ (HD)

(11.72) **rājje-ñ bēru-gai kiyavan_tibē darivaru-ñ**

country-ABL outside-LOC study_be.PL.PRS.PTCP student-PL
 ‘students who **are studying** abroad’ (HD)

Various other modal meanings are not conveyed with infinitive constructions. The possibility of something happening or being done, for example, is expressed by con-verb constructions with **-fāne** (for active verbs) and **-dāne** (for IN-verbs), as described in Section 8.3.4.2. Examples of the negation of potentials are given in 11.35 and 11.36 above. The personal ability to do something is expressed by the future tense of an involitive verb combined with a dative subject (see Section 12.4.4).

11.3.2.2 Other verbs with infinitive complements

Infinitives may occur as the complements of certain other verbs as well; these verbs retain their usual meaning in this usage. They include verbs that indicate the attempt, intention, beginning, or requisite knowledge to performing some action, such as **faṣaṇi** ‘begins (transitive)’, **danī** ‘goes’, or **nimmani** ‘decides’. A number of examples are given below.

(11.73)

fiyavaḷu aṭṭa nimmi
 step apply.INF decide.PST.FOC

‘decided to take steps’ (HD)

(11.74)

fataṭ n=ēngē mīh-ek
 swim.INF NEG=know.PRS.PTCP person-INDF

‘someone who **does not know how to swim**’ (HD)

(11.75)

tari-tak vīdaṇ faṣaṇī
 stars-PL shine.INF begin.PRS.PROG

‘the stars are **beginning to shine**’ (VN)

(11.76)

e=bagīcā-gai hi[n̄]gā laṇ dam-eve
 DEM3=garden-LOC walk.CNV_put.INF_go.PRS.1=END

‘go for a walk in that garden’ (FD)

(11.77)

e=navu-n ahareṇ makkā-aṣ dāṇ furānam=eve
 DEM3=ship-ABL 1 Mecca-DAT go.INF depart.FUT.1=END

‘I will leave to go to Mecca on that ship.’ (HD)

(11.78)

rayyitunn-aṣ rakkāteri.kam dēṇ kureven
 public-DAT safety give.INF is.done.INF

huri hurihā kam-ek
 be(.standing).PST.PTCP all action-INDF

‘everything there is to be **done to protect** the public’ (SC)

Compound verbs may also take infinitival complements. For example, the compound verb **masakkaṭ kurani** ‘does work, works’, when combined

with an infinitive, means ‘try to’, in an active sense of ‘working at’. The compound *bēnum_vanī* ‘be wanting/need[ing]’ means ‘wants to’ or ‘needs to’.⁸

- (11.79) *guḷuṁ badahi_kurañ masakkaṭ_kurā*
 tie strong_do.INF work_do.PRS.PTCP
 ‘trying/working to strengthen ties’ (MI)

- (11.80) *hāma_kuravvañ bēnum nu=vā*
 open_do.HON.INF want/need NEG=be.PRS.PTCP
 ‘not wanting/need[ing] to disclose’ (HD)

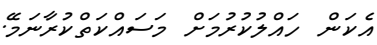
Other verbs take verbal noun phrases in the dative case as their complements where English would still use an infinitive, as in 11.81. Cain and Gair suggest that an infinitive may only be used if the implied subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the verb whose complement the infinitive is (Cain and Gair 2000: 49). In 11.81, for example, the editor does the asking and the judge does the deciding, and so a verbal noun is used rather than an infinitive. However, this apparent prohibition does not apply to the locational/postural-infinitive constructions presented in Section 11.3.2.1, where in a case like 11.66 the subject of the locational/postural verb and the subject of the infinitive are different. It also does not apply to infinitives that are the complements of nouns (compare 10.65). Example 11.82 is also an exception. More work is clearly needed to determine the true extent, if any, of this constraint.

- (11.81) *massala nimmavai devvum-aṣ miadu_nūhu-ge eḍiṭaṭ*
 case decide.HON.give.HON.VN-DAT Miadhu_News-GEN editor
faṇḍiyāru-ge ariahu-ñ edunu
 judge-GEN side-ABL ask.PST.3
 ‘the editor of Miadhu News asked the judge to decide the case’ (MI)






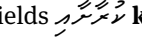
- (11.82) *mamma nu=kurañ bunā_kam-ek*
 mother NEG=do.INF say.PRS.PTCP_action-INDF
 ‘what Mother says not to do’ (PB)

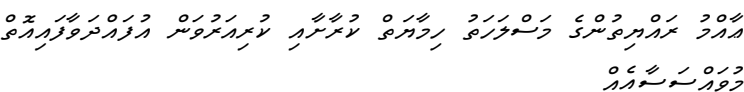
⁸ A potential source of confusion for learners is that while *bēnum_vanī* means ‘wants’ or ‘needs’, *bēnum_kurañ* means ‘uses’ or ‘makes use of’.


However, the subject of a verbal noun can also be the same as the subject of the verb of which it is the complement. Therefore some constructions may use either an infinitive or a verbal noun. Compare 11.83 with 11.79.

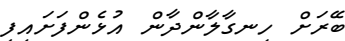
- (11.83) 
e-kañ *hallu_kurum-aṣ* *masakkaṭ_kurānam-ē*
 DEM3-action **solution_do.VN-DAT** **work_do.FUT.1-QUOT**
 “‘[I] **will work to solve** that matter.’” (HD)

11.3.2.3 Combinations of infinitives

Infinitival phrases may be co-ordinated with the particle  -**āi**, which is usually reserved for the co-ordination of noun phrases. As complements of verbs, infinitival phrases do behave somewhat like noun phrases, but in Dhivehi infinitives may not serve as the subjects of sentences, nor do they take case (or plural) inflection like nouns. By contrast, verbal nouns may both be subjects of verbs and take nominal inflection. When an infinitive is followed by a vowel-initial suffixing particle, its final  -**aṇ** becomes  -**aṣ**, as discussed in Section 8.3.3.4. Thus in 11.84  **kuraṇ** ‘to do’ plus  -**āi** yields  **kurāṣāi** ‘to do and...’.

- (11.84) 
‘āmmu rayyitun-ge maslahatu himāyaṭ kurāṣ=āi
 common citizens-GEN desirable.thing **protection do.INF=CNJ**
kuri.aruvan ufaddavā=fai_oṭ
advance.INF create.HON=SUCCEED_be(.lying).PST.PTCP
muvasasā-eḱ
 organization.INDF
 ‘an organization that has been founded **to protect and advance** the
 priorities of ordinary citizens’ (HD)

A series of nested infinitives may occur, as in the following example that uses both types of infinitives (existential/modal and other) discussed in the above sections. It also uses the light verb  **laṇi** ‘puts’, for a total sequence of five verbs, three of which are infinitives.

- (11.85) 
bēr-aṣ hiṅgā_lāñ_dāñ uleñ_faṣai-fi
 outside.DAT walk.CNV_put.INF_go.INF live.INF_begin.CNV-PRF
 ‘have begun to want to go for a walk outside’ (PB)

12 Simple Sentences

Full sentences in Dhivehi may be either verbal or nonverbal. As the name suggests, nonverbal sentences use means of predication other than verbs, while verbal sentences use verbs as predicators.¹ The basic order of constituents in a sentence is subject – predicate. A Dhivehi sentence will contain at most one finite verb unless the sentence contains a direct quote or an embedded question.

As mentioned in Section 9.1.1, all sentences that are not enclosed in quotation marks or otherwise set off as a direct quote end in the particle ދަލް -**eve** in standard written Dhivehi. This includes occasional fragments that the writer chooses to set off with a period, but it does not include headlines or other pieces of text that do not take end punctuation. Very informal writing may also dispense with sentence-final ދަލް -**eve**. The sentence-ending particle is often read aloud as ދަލް -**ē** (homophonous with the quotative particle, effectively making it clear that one is repeating a text rather than making an original utterance), but it may also be read out fully as ދަލް -**eve** or be omitted from the vocal reading altogether.

12.1 Nonverbal sentences

Not all complete sentences in Dhivehi contain a verb. Instead, adjectives and a nonverbal copula may sometimes be used as predicators, as described below. For the negation of nonverbal sentences, see Section 12.7.

12.1.1 Adjectival sentences

Of the nonverbal sentences, the simplest kind makes use of predicate adjectives. In such a sentence, an adjective heads a phrase that is used as a predicate without the support of a verb or other predicator. Such sentences are used to convey descriptions. The word order in these sentences is subject – predicate adjective.

- (12.1) ރަދަ ނަފަދ ވަރަދ ދަލް
ē-ge nēfaḥ varaḥ **dig**=eve
DEM3-GEN nose very **long**=END
'Its [the elephant's] nose is very **long**.' (FD)

¹ Because the term *predicate* may be used to refer either to one of the two main parts of the sentence (the other being the subject) or to the functional part of the sentence (often a verb) that relates the arguments of a sentence to each other, I use the term *predicator* for the second concept and reserve *predicate* for the first.

(12.2) ދަރުސާ ގަޔާ ވަރު ބޮޑު ނެވެ.

madrasā *ge-aṣ=vure* *mā* **boḍ**=eve
 school house-DAT=compared.to great **big**=END

‘The school is much **bigger** than the house.’ (FD)

A particular construction that tends to use predicate adjectives is the description of the manner in which something occurs, using the “gerund” form of the participle (suffixed with ލަބި -**lek** as described in Section 8.3.2.2) as the subject.

(12.3) ނަމަވަސް ފަންނަ ލަބި ދެކެނެއް ދެކެނެއް ނެވެ.

namaves ‘*amālī* *natijā* *fenna-lek* **mad**=eve
 however practical result be.seen.PRS.PTCP-GND **rare**=END

‘However, the appearance of practical results [has been] **rare**.’ (HD)

Adjectival sentences are not very common in written texts. In texts, the adjective is frequently used to modify a noun instead of being used alone or it is used with a specified tense; in either case another type of predication is called for, described in Section 12.1.2 and Section 12.2.3.

Another reason adjectival sentences are relatively rare is the use of the future tense in certain types of descriptions, as described further in Section 12.2.3. Because adjectival sentences are tenseless, such a construction cannot be used if a tense needs to be specified. Instead, a verbal sentence must be used, using a form of the verb ވާނެ **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’ (examples are given in 12.27 and 12.108).

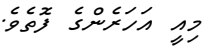
12.1.2 Copular (equational) sentences

Equational sentences are made with a nonverbal uninflecting *copula*. The copula is usually ފަންނަ -**aki**, but has the form ފަންނަ -**i** after demonstrative pronouns. This nonverbal copula equates two noun phrases and may be used to express equivalence or class membership, such as the fact that a horse is an animal, i.e., a member of the class of animals. While many cases of English *be* translate as ފަންނަ -**aki**, many do not, such as statements of existence or location (for which see Section 12.6), or auxiliary verbs. The copula ފަންނަ -**aki** directly follows the subject noun phrase as a suffixed particle rather than occurring at the end of the clause as (nonfocus) verbs generally do. Its use requires an overt subject and an overt object.

(12.4) ދިވެހި ބަހު ފަންނަ ދިވެހި ރާއްޖޭގެ ރަސްމީ ބަހު ނެވެ.


divehi_bah=aki *divehi_rājjē-ge* *rasmī* *bah*=eve
dhivehi_language=COP *dhivehi_country-GEN* official language=END


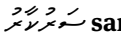
‘Dhivehi **is** the official language of the Maldives’ (DW)

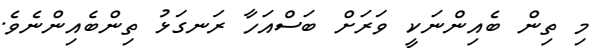
(12.5) 

mi=ī ahareñ-ge fot=eve
 DEM1=COP 1-GEN book=END

‘This **is** my book.’ (FD)

Being nonverbal, the copula does not express tense. Tense can usually be inferred from context, but if it is important to specify, a verbal sentence with  **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’ may be used instead of a copular sentence, as described more fully in Section 12.2.3.

Because the copula specifically equates two noun phrases, such sentences may seem to the English speaker to have extra nouns, such as the repeated  **tin** **beiñ** ‘three siblings’ in 12.6.² Example 12.87 is another such sentence, with a repeated  **sarukāru** ‘government’. Such copular sentences with repeated nouns are often used in place of adjectival sentences.

(12.6) 

mi tin bei-nn=akī varaś bas.ahā rañgaḷu
 DEM1 three brother-PL=COP very obedient good

tin_bei-nn=eve

three_brother-PL=END



‘These three siblings **are** three very obedient, good siblings.’ (PB)

It is important to remember that the copula is not a verb. There are therefore no restrictions on how many copulas a sentence may contain, or on whether the copula may coexist with a finite verb. It will do so when a clause containing a copula occurs as a subordinate clause within a larger sentence, as described further in Section 13.2.

The Dhivehi copula is an anomaly in the South Asian linguistic area. As Cain and Gair put it, “an overt copula is, as far as we are aware, unique among the Indo-Aryan, and in fact South Asian, languages generally” (Cain and Gair 2000: 38).

12.2 Verbal sentences

Verbal sentences, as their name implies, contain a verb as their predicator. Such sentences have the basic order subject – object – verb, or SOV. This order is relatively fixed in the written language, particularly with respect to the finality of the verb, with the very noticeable exception of sentences employing focus. The various arguments of the

² The word  **bē** means ‘siblings’ in the plural, as in 12.6, but in the singular or in the reduplicated form ( **bēbe**) it means ‘older brother’.

verb (the subject, direct object, and indirect object) are somewhat freer in their placement. In speech, where intonation helps to convey the meaning and focus of the sentence, the order of elements in a sentence is even freer. See Section 12.5 for focus and other noncanonical word orders.

Either a finite verb or a progressive/focus verb can be the predicator of the main clause of a complete verbal sentence. Finite verbs in Dhivehi include all those that inflect for person (and the corresponding forms of IN-verbs). Progressive/focus verbs (presented in Section 8.3.2.1) inflect for tense but not person.

Finite verbs, presented in Section 8.3, include the finite indicative verbs, which inflect for both tense and person, and the perfect, potential, and irrealis (but not the “prospective irrealis” subjunctive) finite verbs, which inflect for person and a certain aspect or mood, but not tense. IN-verbs do not appear to inflect for person, but are arguably invariably third person rather than personless (see Section 8.3.1.3). Participles, which inflect for tense but not person and include past, present, future, perfect and potential participles, are not finite. (Because they do show partial inflection they can be termed “medial”). The non-inflecting converbs, infinitives, and verbal nouns are also not finite. A sentence will have no more than one finite verb unless it contains a direct quote or an embedded question.

It is, however, worth noting that many participles look the same as third-person forms of the same verb. Thus the status of a particular verb as inflected for person may not be immediately obvious. By the same token, the status of a participle as uninflected for person in the presence of a third-person subject may also not be obvious. However, a finite verb will reveal its person inflection if the subject is changed to first person, while a participle with a first-person subject will continue to fail to show person inflection. Alternatively, the replacement of a verb with a verb whose participles are distinct from its third-person forms (such as ފުރިހަމަ *kurani* ‘does’) will also reveal the finite or participial status of a verb.

12.2.1 Arguments and their order

Generally speaking, the subject of a sentence and any direct object of a verb or copula are both in the direct (unmarked) case.³ However, some subjects (such as those which are passive experiencers) are dative, as discussed further in Section 12.4. Some objects have cases other than direct as well, as discussed below in this section.

The following are examples of intransitive verbal sentences with one argument (a subject). The verbs of such sentences often belong to the category of IN-verbs (de-

³ Dhivehi does not display ergative case marking in any tense or aspect, unlike certain northern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi, which is ergative in the perfect aspect (Kachru 2006: 212).

scribed in Section 8.1.1), though IN-verbs may also appear with two arguments (see Section 12.4). IN-verbs almost all have e-stems, though the very common *vanī* ‘is, becomes, happens’, illustrated in 12.7, has a monosyllabic stem. Example 12.7 also shows that Dhivehi does not use “dummy subjects” like the *it* used in the English translation.

(12.7) ރަސަރިދަ ވަގުދަ ވަގުދަ

añdiri ve-jje=eve
darkness be.CNV-PRF=END

‘It has become dark.’ (VN)

(12.8) ހަހަރަ ފަތަނި

aharen fetenī
1 sink.PRS.PROG

‘I am sinking!’ (D3)

(12.9) ދަވަލާރު ގަ ނިސްބަތުގެ ރުފިޔާ ގަ ވަލު ޅެކު ދުވަހުގެ ވަލު ދަވަލާރު ގަ ނިސްބަތުގެ ރުފިޔާ ގަ ވަލު ޅެކު ދުވަހުގެ ވަލު ދަވަލާރު ގަ ނިސްބަތުގެ ރުފިޔާ ގަ ވަލު ޅެކު ދުވަހުގެ ވަލު

dolaru-ge nisbat-un rufiyā-ge agu ek_duvahun
dollar-GEN comparison-ABL rufiyaa-GEN value one_day-ABL
anek_duvah-aṣ veṭṭenī=eve
the.other_day-DAT fall.PRS.PROG=END

‘The value of the rufiyaa as compared to the dollar is falling from one day to the next.’ (HD)

The following are sentences with two arguments (a subject and a direct object) in the direct case. The verbs in the sentences given here are active verbs; for two-argument IN-verbs see Section 12.4. The verbs in these two sentences are compound verbs, which are very common (see Section 11.1).

(12.10) ބިސް ތަކުގެ ވަލު ފަލު ލައިފި

e=kudi.n bis-tak valū lai-fi=eve
DEM3=children.PL egg-PL hole_put.CNV-PRF.3=END

‘The children have buried the eggs.’ (EA)

(12.11) ދާމާ އަލީ ގެއުގެ ތެރޭގ ސާފު ކުރާނެ

mādamā alī gē_tere sāfu kurāne
tomorrow Ali house_inside clean do.FUT.3

‘Tomorrow Ali will clean the house.’ (FW2)

Verbs may also take complements that are noun phrases in cases other than the direct. Example 12.12 has a dative verbal noun phrase as complement, while 12.13 has a complement in the sociative case.⁴ Other verbs may take complements that are postpositional phrases or infinitive phrases, as in 12.14 and 12.15. Some may also take full clauses as complements, for which see Section 13.2.

(12.12) *evēlā akuru-ge zamāñ nimum-ak-aṣ*

ancient script-GEN era **end.VN-UNSP-DAT** come.PST.3=END

‘The era of Eveyla Akuru [‘the ancient script’] came **to an end**.’ (DA)

(12.13) *ehen.ve aharenñ tñēju kujj-ak-ā* (tiñ amb-aṣ)

so 1 **teenage child-UNSP-SOC** (three wife-DAT)

iñde-fim=eve

be(.sitting)-PRF.1=END

‘So I have married **a teenage girl** (as wife three).’ (HD)

(12.14) *ēnā e zīla aḍ-ā medu visni=eve*

3 **DEM3 shrill sound-SOC about** think.PST.3=END

‘He thought **about that shrill sound**’ (VN)

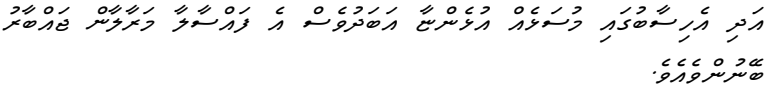
(12.15) *faruhiyyā bār-aṣ rōñ-feṣi=eve*

Faruhiyyaa **force-ADV cry.INF**_begin.PST.3=END

‘Faruhiyyaa began **to cry loudly**.’ (VN)

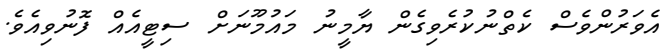
While the order subject – object – verb is the default, subjects may appear after other arguments under certain circumstances, such as for stylistic effect or when there is a significant difference in length between the arguments, as in 12.16. Example 12.16, taken from a children’s story, also illustrates that the present tense is often used in narration, particularly in the scene-setting descriptions at the beginning of a story.

⁴ The verb in 12.13 is *innani*, whose most basic meaning is ‘is sitting’, but in this type of construction with a human sociative-case object, it means ‘marries’.

- (12.16) 

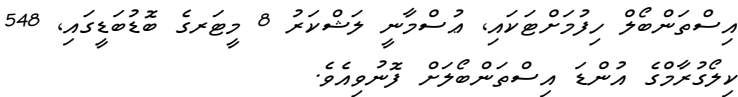
adi e=hisābu-gai musaḷ-ek' uḷuññā abadu.ves e
 also DEM3=place-LOC rabbit-INDF live.COND always DEM3
fassā_lā marā-lān jabbāru bēnuḡ_ve=eve
 chase.CNV_put.CNV kill.CNV_put.CNV **Jabbaar** want_be.PRS.3=END
 'And if there's a rabbit in that place, **Jabbaar** always wants to chase it and kill it.' (PB)

The following is an example of a sentence with three arguments in the order subject-indirect object-direct object-verb. In this example, the subject and direct object are in the direct case, while the indirect object (in bold) is in the dative case.

- (12.17) 

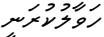
e=varu-n=ves keṭ_nu=kurevi=geñ
 DEM3=amount-ABL=EMPH patience_NEG=be.done.CNV=SUCC
yāminu maumūn-aṣṣiṭi-ek' fonuvi=eve
 Yameen **Maumoon-DAT** letter-INDF send.PST.3=END
 'Not being so patient, Yameen sent **Maumoon** a letter.' (HD)

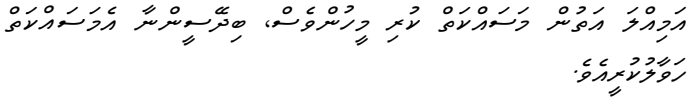
The placement of the indirect object with respect to the direct object is variable, however, and may depend on factors such as relative length.

- (12.18) 548 

istanbōl hifum-aṣ=ṭakai, 'usmānī lashkaru 8 mīṭaṣ-ge
 Istanbul take.VN-DAT=for Ottoman army 8 meter-GEN
boḡu baḡi-gai, 548 kilōgurām-ge unḡa istanbōl-aṣṣ
 big_gun-LOC 548 kilogram-GEN cannonball **Istanbul-DAT**
fonuvi=eve
 send.PST.3=END

'In order to take Istanbul, the Ottoman army fired [lit. sent] 548 kilogram cannonballs **into Istanbul** in 8 meter cannons.' (HD)


The case assignment pattern of 12.17 and 12.18, with the indirect object in the dative case, is typical but not invariable and depends on the verb. In the following example, the verb,  **havālu_kuranī** 'gives into the care (of), hands over (to), entrusts (to)', calls for an indirect object in the sociative case, while the subject and direct object are in the direct case.

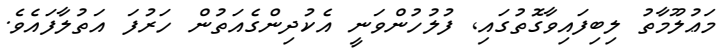
(12.19) 

amilla atuñ masakkaṭ kuri mīhu-n=ves
own hand-ABL work do.PST.PTCP person-PL=EMPH

bidēsī-nn-ā *e=masakkaṭ havālu kuri=eve*
foreign-PL-SOC DEM3=work care.of_do.PST.3=END

‘Even people who worked with their own hands were handing that work over **to foreigners**.’ (HD)

In the following sentence, the third argument is an ablative noun phrase that marks a source. (For the sentence-medial placement of  **vani** ‘is, becomes, happens’ in this sentence, see Section 12.5).




(12.20) 

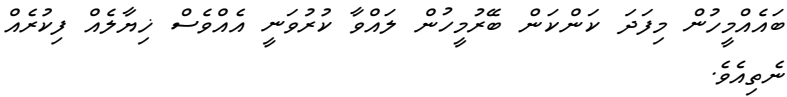
ma‘ulūmātu libi=fai_vā gotu-gai
information receive.CNV=SUCC_be.PRS.PTCP_way-LOC

fuluhu-n_vanī e=kudin-ge_atu-n harufa
police-PL_be.PRS.FOC **DEM3=children-GEN_hand-ABL** snake

atu.lā=fa=eve
seize.CNV=SUCC=END

‘According to information received, the police have seized the snake **from those children**.’ (HD)

Causative verbs also have three arguments: a causer, a causee who acts at the causer’s behest, and the action done. However, it is rare for all three of these to be explicitly mentioned. If explicitly mentioned, the causee is presented with  **lavvai** or  **lavvā**, technically the converb of  **lavvanī** ‘causes to put’. The following is an example of a sentence with a causative verb and three explicitly mentioned arguments (see Section 12.5 for the focus word order displayed by this sentence).

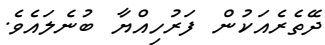
(12.21) 

baeḳ mīhu-n mi=fada kaṁ~kaṁ bēru mīhu-n
 some_person.PL DEM1=sort action~REDUP foreign_person-PL
lavvā kuruvani evves khiyāl-eḳ fikur-eḳ
put.CAUS.CNV do.CAUS.PRS.FOC any idea-INDF worry-INDF
neti=eve
 without=END

‘Some people **make** foreigners do these sorts of things, without any thought or concern.’ (HD)

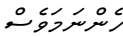
12.2.2 Adverbials and their order

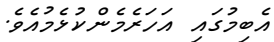
Adverbial expressions (either words or phrases) are variable in their placement. Those that are sentential in their scope usually come first in a sentence, as in 12.22 (other examples include 12.18, 12.87, and 11.60).

(12.22) 

dētere-aku-n faruhiyyā bune-la=eve
interval-UNSP-ABL Faruhiyyaa say.CNV.speak.PRS.3=END

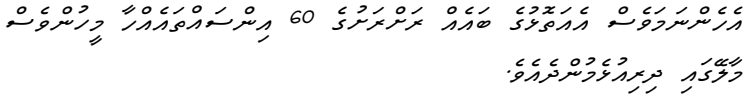
‘**After a while**, Faruhiyyaa speaks.’ (VN)

Adverbial phrases also precede the subject in order to link a sentence to a previous one, as in 12.23, which follows a sentence stating the existence of a field. Similarly, various discourse connectives are used to link a sentence to a previous one; these also come first in a sentence, as the  **ehennamaves** ‘nevertheless’ does in 12.24.

(12.23) 

e=bimu-gai aharemeṇ kuḷemu=eve
DEM3=field-DAT 1PL_play.PRS.1=END

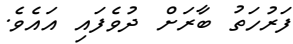
‘We play **on that field**.’ (FD)

(12.24) 

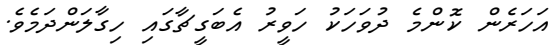
ehen.nama.ves *e=atoļu-ge* *baek̃* *raṣ̣~raṣu-ge* 60
nevertheless DEM3=atoll-GEN some island~REDUP-GEN 60
insatta-ek̃_hā *mīhu-n=ves* *mālē-gai*
 percent-INDF_amount person.PL=EMPH Malé-LOC
diri.uḷe-muñ_de=eve
 live-SML_go.PRS.3=END

‘**Nevertheless**, 60 percent of the people of some of the islands of that atoll are living in Malé.’ (MN)

Otherwise, adverbials usually come after the subject, as in example 12.25 and 12.26.

(12.25) 



faruhatu **bāraṣ̣** *duve=fai* *a=eve*
 Faruhathu **force-ADV** run.CNV=SUCCE come.PST.3=END
 ‘Faruhathu **quickly** came running.’ (VN)

(12.26) 

ahareñ **komme** **duvah-aku** **havīru** *e=bagicā-gai*
 1 **every** **day-UNPC** **evening** DEM3=garden-LOC
hi[ñ]gā_lañ_dam=eve
 walk.CNV_put.INF_go.PRS.1=END
 ‘I go for a walk in that garden **every evening**.’ (FD)

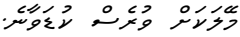
More complex, clausal adverbials are presented in Section 13.4.

12.2.3 Tensed alternatives to adjectival and copular sentences

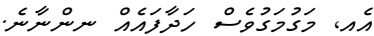
Although adjectival and copular sentences occur without tense marking, sometimes it is important to specify a particular tense. This seems to be particularly true of the future tense. In such cases, the verb  **vani** ‘be, become, happens’ will be used. Examples 12.27 through 12.29 use  **vani** where a bare adjective is used above in the tenseless examples 12.1 through 12.3.

- One important use of the future tense with predicate adjectives is in the description of things that have not been observed by the listener. If the speaker knows what something is like but the hearer has not experienced it, the description will be put in the future tense. The sense is something along the lines of 'if you were to see it you would see that it is...'. A description in the present tense, by contrast, is used with the

sense of ‘I experienced it to be...’. In 12.31, the speaker is describing the size of his native island to someone who has never seen it.

- (12.31) 
mēl-ak-aṣ *vure=s* *kuḍa_vāne*
 mile-UNSP-DAT compared.to=EMPH small_ **be.FUT.3**
 ‘[It] **is** [lit. **will be**] even smaller than a mile.’ (SC)

Such future-tense descriptions extend beyond predicate adjectives to other descriptive statements, as the following sentence from the same overall description illustrates.

- (12.32) 
e=ī *magu~magu=ves* *hadā=fa-ek*
 DEM3=COP road~REDUP=EMPH make.CNV=SUCC-INDF
n=innāne.
NEG=be(.sitting).FUT.3
 ‘That is [because] the roads **haven’t been** [lit. **won’t have been**] paved.’
 (SC)

12.3 Null arguments

Any argument of a Dhivehi verbal sentence (the subject, the object, or the indirect object) may be left unspecified, or null. Sometimes this is because the identity of the argument is clear from context; in other cases it is simply left vague. The use of null arguments reduces the use of pronouns as compared to languages such as English, hence this phenomenon is sometimes known as *pro-drop*. Unlike in certain well-known pro-drop languages such as Spanish, however, the use of null arguments in Dhivehi is not limited to subjects, nor is the identity of a dropped subject easily reconstructed from verbal agreement, given that person marking is limited in Dhivehi and number marking is nonexistent in the colloquial language (see Section 8.3.1).

The following are sentences with null subjects. The identity of the subjects must be inferred from context. In written discourse they are often the subjects of previous sentences. For example, 12.33 occurs soon after example 12.6. Thus the subject of 12.33 is the three siblings mentioned in 12.6.

(12.33) *adī mamma manā_kurā_kam-ek̰*

Also mother forbidden_do.PRS.PTCP_action-INDF
nu=kure=eve

NEG=do.PRS.3=END

‘And [they] do not do what [their] mother forbids.’ (PB)

(12.34) *ē-ge raha=ves balā_li=eve*

3-GEN taste=EMPH see.CNV_put.PST.3=END

‘[He] tried the taste of that too.’ (PB)

The subject may also be stated in a subordinate clause that precedes the main clause (for more on subordinate clauses, see Chapter 13).

(12.35) *e=kudiñ konnani-koṣ velā_bis-tak-ek̰*

DEM.children.PL dig.PTCP-SML sea.turtle_egg.PL-INDF

feni-jje=eve

appear.CNV-PRF=END

‘While the children were digging, [they] saw some sea turtle eggs.’ (EA)

The following is an example with a specified subject but a null object. The identity of the object is reconstructed from the preceding discourse, in which Hassan states that he doesn’t want to eat chicken at the upcoming picnic. Example 12.36 is spoken by his interlocutor (who uses his name to avoid using the second-person pronoun *kalē* ‘you’, for which see Section 6.2.1).

(12.36) *hasanu nu=key-as ves*

Hassan NEG=eat.PST.PTCP=CNCS EMPH

‘even if Hassan [i.e. you] doesn’t eat [chicken]...’ (SC)

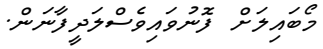
Both the subject and the object may be null. In 12.37 this leads to a sentence consisting only of a verb. The interpretation again depends on context. It is the answer to a question of whether the group has ever played football at a get-together.

(12.37) *nu=kuḷē*

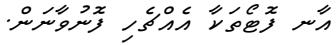
NEG=play.PRS.3

‘[They] don’t play [football].’ (SC)

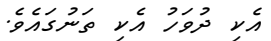
In 12.38, the subject and the direct object are left null but the indirect object is specified. In this particular example person marking on the verb shows that the subject is first person, but this is only true because the verb in this example is both finite and active. No grammatical clue indicates that the direct object is third person, but context makes the interpretation clear. In this example, the speaker has been asked to provide a phone number that he will be getting, with the suggestion that he post it to Facebook. He suggests his interlocutor's phone as an alternative place to send the number.

- (12.38) 
mōbail-aṣ fonuvai=ves_la_dī-fānaṁ
 mobile.phone-DAT send.CNV=EMPH_put.CNV_give.CNV-POT.1
 'I might even send [it] to [your] mobile phone.' (SC)

By contrast with 12.38, the direct object may be specified but the subject and the indirect object left null, as in 12.39.

- (12.39) 
āñ foṭō-tak-ā eccehi fonuvānaṁ
 yes photo-PL-CONJ things send.FUT.1
 'Yes, [I] will send [you] photos and stuff.' (SC)

One could in theory extend the analysis of null elements to include null verbs. Thus utterances otherwise considered fragments could in fact be considered complete sentences with null verbs, as in the following piece of text that is punctuated as a sentence but contains only adverbials.

- (12.40) 
eki duvah-u eki tanu-ga=eve
 various day-ADV various place-LOC=END
 '[They do it] on various days and in various places.' (VN)

12.4 Sentences with IN-verbs

Sentences with IN-verbs serve a variety of functions and in some of those functions show different case-marking than sentences with active verbs. The general property of IN-verbs is that their subjects are not volitional actors.

Cain and Gair make a useful distinction between sentences that are involitive and those that are inactive (Cain and Gair 2000: 57–60; Cain 1995), which I roughly follow here.⁵

Inactive sentences describe something that happens to someone or something. Such sentences have direct-case subjects. Usually such sentences are intransitive.

In an involitive sentence, the actor is doing something unintentionally or involuntarily. Although such individuals may act volitionally in other contexts, in an involitive sentence that volition is suspended or overruled. Involitive sentences have dative “subjects.”

Sentences with IN-verbs and dative “subjects” are also used to describe the passive reception of a thing or an experience or to make statements of ability.

12.4.1 Inactive and passive sentences

In inactive and passive sentences, something happens to the subject rather than the subject making something happen as it does in an active sentence.⁶ This may be an event that has no agentive cause, as in 12.41 and 12.42, or something that has an agent that is not mentioned, as in 12.43. The former may be considered simply inactive, but latter may be considered actually passive, as in Cain (1995). A sentence like 12.44 may be considered either inactive or passive. There is an agent, but it is not relevant.

(12.41) *aharen fetenī*

1 sink.PRS.PROG

‘I am sinking!’ (D3)

(12.42) *pilāsi ufalu-n furun=eve*

Pilaasee happiness-ABL be.filled.PST.3=eve

‘Pilaasee was filled with happiness.’ (PB)

⁵ They also include a category of accidental sentences, which uses an IN-verb with a subject that is headed by instrumental *atuñ* ‘by the hand (of)’. These are not considered a separate category here but are discussed further in Section 12.4.1.

⁶ For existential and locational verbal sentences, which are stative rather than active, see Section 12.6.

(12.43) *adi e=kamu-ge sababu-n e=tañ~tañ*

also DEM3=deed-GEN reason-ABL DEM3=place~REDUP

salāmaṭ=ves kurevi-dāne=eve
safety=EMPH be.done-POT=END

‘And because of that, those places can be protected/saved.’ (HD)

(12.44) *mi=mubārāt miadu nimēne=eve*

DEM1=competition today end.FUT.3=END

‘This competition will end today.’ (HD)

Most inactive sentences are intransitive. Unlike the involitive sentences presented in Section 12.4.2, however, they take direct-case subjects.⁷ A few inactive verbs do take a complement, however. The modal *jehenī* ‘has to, must’ (lit. ‘is struck’), for example, takes a direct-case subject and an infinitive complement.

(12.45) *hurihā farātu-n=ves zimmā ek_var-ak-aṣ*

all party-PL=EMPH responsibility one_amount-UNSP-ADV

ufulaṇ jehēne=eve
carry.INF must.FUT.3=END

‘All parties **will have to bear** responsibility equally.’ (HD)

Some inactive verbs correspond to verbs that have three arguments in their active form, and thus have two in their inactive form. In the following example, using *havālu_vanī* ‘is entrusted with’ (or its honorific, as in the example) rather than *havālu_kurani* ‘entrusts (to)’ changes the verb to an inactive rather than an active form. Compare 12.46 and 12.19.

⁷ Some e-stem verbs take a direct-case subject simply because they are not in fact inactive. These include *kulenī* ‘plays’, *nerenī* ‘issues, puts out’ and *edenī* ‘asks’. Curiously, the verb *dekenī* ‘sees’, inflects for first/second person, thus behaving like an active verb, despite the fact that the more commonly used *fennanī*, which also means ‘sees’ (or ‘is seen by’) is clearly involitive. Despite its person marking, *dekenī* does not have the active meaning of *balanī* ‘looks’. The behavior of *dekenī* demonstrates that the categorization of verbs as active, inactive, or involitive is to some extent conventional rather than fully predictable on a firm semantic basis.

(12.46) ... ރަޔިއްސާ ނަޝީދު ވަރިކަމުގެ ލީޑަރުކަމުގައި ހިންގަމުންދަނީ ...

raīs nashīdu verikam-āi
president Nasheed leadership-SOC

havālu_ve_vadaigennevi_inu
care.of_be.CNV_HON.PST.PTCP_time

‘when President Nasheed **was entrusted** with the leadership...’ (HD)

Sometimes the agent of a passive may be included in the sentence as an ablative/instrumental noun phrase headed by the word ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** ‘at the hand (of)’, the ablative/instrumental of ފަހުގަހައިގެ **at** ‘hand’. This is a somewhat different use of ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** than the marking of ablative on human nouns that is discussed in Section 5.3.1. When used in a passive sentence to mark the agent, the ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** usually appears without the genitive ގެ **-ge** that marks the person whose hand it is, which is usually used when ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** marks a human ablative (as in 12.20 and 12.57). Interestingly, one can both be defeated and be victorious at the hand of an opponent, as shown in the following example.

(12.47) ދިވެހިންނަށް ދަވަލު ދިނީ ދެވަނަ މެޗުގައި ބަންގާލުގެ ފަހުގަހައިގެ ހެންދެންނެވެ.
ދިވެހިންނަށް ދަވަލު ދިނީ ދެވަނަ މެޗުގައި ނެޕާލުގެ ފަހުގަހައިގެ ހެންދެންނެވެ.

devana mec 0-1 in **bāngālū** **atu-ñ**
second match 0-1 ABL **Bangladesh** hand-ABL

bali_vi_namaves *tinvana mec-gai* **nēpāl_atu-ñ**
weak_be.PST.PTCP_despite third match-LOC **Nepal_hand-ABL**

divēhi-n *moļu_ve_fai_vanī* 2-3 *ge*
Maldivian-PL excellent_be.CNV_SUCC_be.PRS.FOC 2-3 GEN

natijā-aku-nn=eve
result-UNSP-ABL=END

‘Despite being defeated in the second match 0-1 **by Bangladesh**, the Maldivians were victorious **over Nepal** in the third match, with a score of 2-3.’ (HD)

Sometimes the ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** ‘at the hand (of)’ is used in a passive sentence to reduce the agency of the actor and thus to emphasize that the act was accidental. Cain and Gair consider this accidental use a distinct type of IN-verb sentence (Cain and Gair 2000: 58–59), that of “accidental.” However, not only does ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** cover a range of functions in inactive sentences (as, for example, in 12.47), but the use of ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** specifically to indicate an accidental act seems not to be used by all speakers. In general, however, there is a tendency in Dhivehi to deflect away from direct pointing at individuals, and using the ފަހުގަހައިގެ **atuñ** construction is one expression of that. For speakers who use it in this way, it is a polite way to deflect the source of the action away from

(12.50) *ahann-aṣ ves rovun=eve*1.DAT EMPH **cry.IN-PST=END**

'Even I burst into tears.' (HD)

(12.51) *e=duvahu-ge hataru_damu emmeñ*

DEM3=day-GEN four_three.hour.period everyone

roni=eve**cry.PRS.PROG=END**

'Everyone is crying twelve hours that day.' (HD)

Another involitive/active pair that behave like *rovun* 'bursts out crying' and *roni* 'cries' are *nideni* 'falls asleep' and *nidanī* 'sleeps'. The former describes an involuntary act and takes a dative subject, while the latter is a slightly more intentional act and takes a direct-case subject.

12.4.3 Sentences of reception and perception

IN-verbs whose subjects are passive recipients of a thing or of a perception also have dative subjects. Such verbs include *eñgeni* 'know', *libeni* 'receive', *fennani* 'sees, is seen by', *iveni* 'hears', and *hi_vani* 'thinks'.⁸

(12.52) *riyāz rashid-aṣ lañḍu_jahāne varaṣ baivaru furuṣatu*

Riyaz Rasheed-DAT goal_hit.FUT.PTCP very many opportunity

libun=eve**receive.PST.3=END**'Riyaz Rasheed **received** very many opportunities to score goals.' (HD)


⁸ By virtue of being a compound formed with *vanī* 'is, becomes', *hi_vani* 'thinks' (lit. 'imagination-is') is an IN-verb. It describes a less deliberate act than the verb *visnani* 'thinks'.

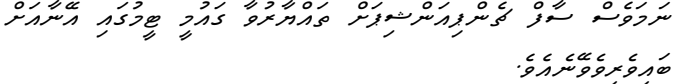
- (12.53) *pilāsi-aṣ* *ek_kan-ek-gai* *bahaṭṭai=fai*
Pilaasee-DAT one_corner-INDF-LOC left.CNV=SUCC
huri *fen_dē* *ecc-ek*
be(standing).PST.PTCP water_give.PRS.PTCP thing-INDF
***fenun*=eve**
see.PST.3=END
‘Pilaasee **saw** a watering can which had been left in one corner.’ (PB)

- (12.54) *qaum-aṣ dimā.ve=geñ uḷē nikameti ḥālū*
 nation-DAT happen=SUCC_live.PRS.PTCP poor condition
emmen-aṣ=ves eñge=eve
 everyone-DAT=EMPH know.PRS.3=END
 ‘Everyone **knows** the poor conditions which the nation has been
 encountering.’ (HD)

12.4.4 Ability sentences

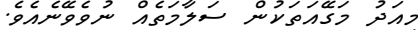
Statements of general ability are expressed with an involitive verb with a dative subject. Such statements are often in the future tense but may be in the present tense if the ability is something that is habitually exercised. These statements of ability are distinct from the potential mood (see Section 8.3.4.2), which is used to mean that one *might* do something. (Knowing *how* to do something, on the other hand, uses an infinitive construction, as in 12.60.) Such statements of ability may be translated as present or future depending on context.

- (12.55) 
 e=kaṁ ḍi.ār.pī-ak-aṣ nu=kurevēne=eve
 DEM3=deed DRP-UNSP-DAT NEG=**be.done.FUT.3**=END
 ‘The DRP [Maldivian People’s Party] **will not be able to do** that [get a two thirds’ majority vote for the bill].’ (HD)

(12.56) 




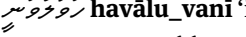
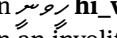


namaves sāf cempianship-aṣṣ tayyāru vā gaumī
 however SAAF championship-DAT ready_be.PRS.PTCP national
ṭīmu-gai ēnā-aṣṣ baiveri_vevēne=eve
 team-LOC 3-DAT participation_be.IN.FUT.3=END

‘However, he **can participate** in the national team which is preparing for the SAAF championship.’ (HD)

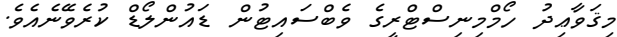
(12.57) 

miadu ma-gē_at-aku-n̄ salāmat-ek̄ nu=vevēne=eve
 today 1-GEN_hand-UNSP-ABL safety-INDF NEG-be.IN.FUT.3=END

‘[You] **cannot** escape from my hand today.’ (PB)

Examples 12.56 and 12.57 use the verb  **vevenī**, which is the IN-verb of  **vanī** ‘is, becomes, happens’. Using  **vanī** to make a compound verb results in an inactive verb (as in  **havālu_vanī** ‘is entrusted with’) or a verb of perception (as in  **hi_vanī** ‘thinks’). Using  **vevenī**, as in 12.56 and 12.57, by contrast, results in an involitive verb, meaning ‘is able to be’ or ‘finds one’s self to be’, which assigns its subject dative case. The difference between inactive and involitive verbs does not usually show in their morphology, but rather in whether the subject is in the dative or direct case. However, the existential and locational verbs, of which  **vanī** is one, are specifically involitive when they are given IN-morphology (for which see Section 8.1.1).

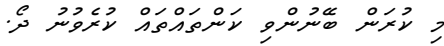
A future-tense IN-verb is also used to make an ability statement in the passive. Such a sentence is ambiguous between a future passive and a statement of present passive ability; thus the gloss in 12.58 includes both ‘may’ and ‘will’ as options.

(12.58) 

mi=qavā'idu hōm_ministīrī-ge vebṣaiṭu-n ḍaunlōḍ
 DEM1=rules home_ministry-GEN website-ABL download
kurevēne=eve
be.done.FUT.3=END

‘These rules **may** [or **will**] be downloaded from the home ministry’s website.’ (HD)


Statements of past ability use an involitive verb in the past. Often such a statement is used to mean that one was able to do something and thus actually did it, translatable as ‘managed to’.




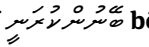
(12.59) 

mi kurañ bēnum_vi kañ-tak~tak kurevunu dō
 DEM1 do.INF want_be.CNV deed-PL~REDUP be.done.PST.3 DM
 ‘[We] **were able to do** the things that [we] wanted to do, you know.’ (SC)

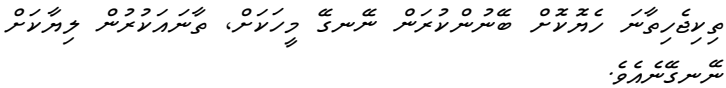
12.4.5 The status of dative “subjects”

The noun phrases that express the involuntary actors in Section 12.4.2, the passive experiencers in Section 12.4.3, and the holders of abilities in Section 12.4.4 are put in the dative case. Such “dative subjects” are common in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 346–356).⁹

It is not entirely clear whether these dative-marked noun phrases are actually subjects in Dhivehi. For example, the verbs of experience could be considered passives. In such an analysis,  **eñgeni**, for example, would be ‘is known’ rather than ‘knows’, and the thing known would actually be the subject. Alternatively, such sentences could be considered to have no subject.

In certain Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi, there are syntactic tests that indicate that dative phrases of this type are actually subjects (Masica 1991: 354). The situation is considerably less clear in Dhivehi. Cain and Gair consider these phrases to be subjects, as they seem to come first in rhetorically neutral sentences (although much variation is seen in their placement), and as they can also serve as the implied subject of an infinitive (Cain and Gair 2000: 37). They consider it necessary for the implied subject of an infinitive to be the same as the subject of the verb that takes the infinitive as its complement. In example 12.60, the subject of  **neñgeni** ‘doesn’t know’ is also the subject of  **liyani** ‘writes’ (and the subject of its participial form  **nēngē** ‘doesn’t know’ is also the subject of  **bēnum_kurani** ‘uses’).

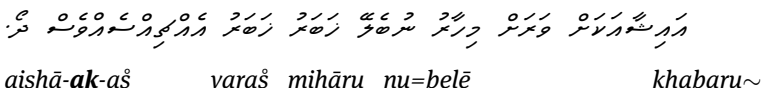
⁹ Unlike various other Indo-Aryan languages, however, statements of obligation do not require dative experiencers, as shown in 12.45.

(12.60) 

tiki.jehi tāna heyo-koṣ bēnum kurañ n-ēñgē
 dotted_Thaana good-ADV use_do.INF NEG-know.PRS.PTCF
mīh-ak-aṣ *tāna akuru-ñ* *liyākaṣ*
person-UNSP-DAT Thaana_script-ABL write.INF.NEG
n-ēñgēne=eve
 NEG-know.FUT.3=END

‘Someone who doesn’t know how to use dotted Thaana properly won’t know how to write in the Thaana script.’ (HD)

However, it is not clear that the match of subjects is actually required (as explained in Section 11.3.2.2). It is also the case that dative experiencers usually participate in the process of negative concord (described in Section 12.7) when their sentence is negated, while direct-case subjects of transitive verbs usually do not unless they occur directly before the negated verb or are being emphasized. Negative concord on a “dative subject” is illustrated (and highlighted in bold) in 12.61, in which the “subject” is a personal name, which would never take unspecified inflection for reasons other than negative concord.¹⁰ (For further examples of negative concord on dative subjects, see 12.102 and 12.116, and see Section 12.5.2 for the placement of the verb in the spoken sentence in 12.61)

(12.61) 
aishā-ak-aṣ *varaṣ* *mihāru* *nu=belē* *khabaru~*
 Aisha-UNSP-DAT very now NEG.is.looked.at.PRS.3 news
khabaru *ecchiss-ek=ves* *dō*
 news things-INDF=EMPH DM
 ‘Aisha can’t [bear to] watch the news and things much nowadays, you know?’ (SC)

It can be concluded that these dative noun phrases do not behave entirely like typical subjects. Therefore, although the term *dative subject* is used in the foregoing sections, it is without any theoretical claim, and I leave the question of whether they are actually subjects unresolved.

¹⁰ While 12.60 also displays negative concord (via the unspecified *-aku* suffix of *mihakaṣ* ‘person.UNSP.DAT’), the “subject” in that sentence is in the unspecified inflection anyway, due to its meaning, and therefore cannot be used to demonstrate that negative concord is required in such a sentence.

12.5 Non-canonical word orders

While Dhivehi has default SOV word order, other orders are possible, particularly with respect to the relative order of subjects and objects. In writing, the finality of the verb is fixed, however, unless the verb is in focus form, in which case some element of the sentence will occur after it. Sentences employing focus are very common in Dhivehi, in both speech and writing. In speech, however, focus morphology is not required to obtain non-canonical word order.

12.5.1 Focus

Individual parts of a sentence may be drawn attention to, or *focused*, by placing them last in the sentence. The verb in such sentences is the focus or “long participle” form presented in Section 8.3.2.1 and comes immediately before the focused element, rather than at the end of the sentence. Example 12.62 is a sentence with focus.

- (12.62)
- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| <i>aharemeñ-ge</i> | <i>ge</i> | <i>hunna-nī</i> |
| 1.PL-GEN | house | be(.standing).PRES-FOC |
- fīrōz_magu-ga=eve*
 Feeroaz_street-LOC=END
- ‘Our house **is** on Feeroaz Street.’ (FD)

In a sentence such as 12.62, the focused part of a sentence is new information rather than background information. In this example the location of the house, rather than the existence of the house, is the new information. Using the focus construction gives the sentence something of the sense of ‘Where our house is is on Feeroaz Street,’ but without the laboriousness of this longer English version. English also uses intonation to mark focus. Because that intonation is not normally written, the sentence in 12.62 would normally be translated simply as ‘Our house is on Feeroaz Street,’ but in speech there would be stress on the *on Feeroaz Street* to mark its status as new information.

Focus constructions are extremely common in Dhivehi. One common use of focus is for an auxiliary verb to be in focus form and the semantically dominant converb or simultaneous-marked participle, along with the rest of the verb phrase, to be the postposed focused element. In the following examples, the focus auxiliary is highlighted.

- (12.63) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \\ \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \\ \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \end{array}$

e=got-un *e=dipātmantu-ñ_vanī*

DEM3=way-ABL DEM3=department-PL **be.PRS.FOC**

prosekiutar_jeneral-ge ofih-as tahqiqu_kurum-as_fahu

prosecutor_general-GEN office-DAT investigation_do.VN-DAT_after

448 *massala fonuvā=fa=eve*

```
448 case send.CNV=SUCC=END
```

‘Thus that department **has** sent 448 cases to the prosecutor general’s office after investigating [them].’ (MN)

- [illegible]

adi fuluhu-n-ge forensik dipātmantu-n gendani

also police.PL-GEN forensic department-PL **take.PRS.FOC**

e=sarahaddu-gai harakāṭ.teri va-munn=eve

DEM3=area-LOC active be-SIML=END

'And the forensic department of the police **is continuing** to be active in that area.' (HD)

A focus auxiliary may also serve to focus something other than the verb phrase. In the following example, the focused element is highlighted.

- (12.65) $\frac{\text{فَإِذَا جَاءَ فَسَيَمْلِكُ يَوْمَئِذٍ السَّيْفُ}$

mī-ge-terē-gai

himenē

divehi

kāsihuni

DEM1=GEN-inside-LOC is.included.PRS.PTCP Maldivian coconut.meat

bandu kurevi-fai

hunnānī

vekivum

closed_be.done.CNV-SUCC is(standing).PRS.FOC **vacuum**

peket-ga=eve

packet-LOC=END

‘The Maldivian coconut meat included inside it has been sealed in a vacuum pack.’ (HD)

In general, any constituent of a sentence may be focused. Thus focus may also divide a verb from its nominal or infinitival complement, as in 12.66. Even subjects can be focused, as in 12.67, although in such cases it is generally not for the presenting of new information but for rhetorical effect.

(12.66)

velā aranī bis aḷāṣ=eve
 sea.turtle rise.PRS.FOC egg drop.INF=END

‘The sea turtle is coming ashore **to lay eggs**.’ (EA)

(12.67)

gina_faharu mamma bunā bas-tak-aṣ samālukam-eḳ
 many_time mother say.PRS.PTCP word-PL-DAT care-INDF
nu=dī būru kaṇfat-eḳ dī hadanī=ves
 NEG=give.CNV deaf_ear-INDF give.CNV make.PRS.FOC=EMPH

mi pilāṣī=eve
DEM1 Pilaasee=END

‘Often [he] does not heed his mother’s words and even turns a deaf ear,
this Pilaasee.’ (PB)

The form of focus verbs is identical to that of the progressive verbs, which Fritz calls the “long participle” (Fritz 2002: 198). In written Dhivehi, which uses canonical ordering, a sentence-final verb of this form will be in the progressive aspect, while a non-final verb of this form will be a focus verb. In focus verbs the difference between default aspect and progressive aspect is neutralized.

Further examples of sentences with focus verbs may be found in 11.47, 11.48, 12.30, 12.79, 12.80, and 13.28, among others.

Adjectival sentences may also be focused, despite not containing a verb. In these cases the predicate adjective (no longer last in the sentence) takes the focus suffix -**i**, as in 12.68. Another example is in 6.13.

(12.68)

ahann-aṣ-ves raṅgaḷ-ī e=got=eve
 1.DAT-EMPH good-FOC **DEM3=way=END**

‘**That way** is also good for me.’ (HD)

Copular sentences already have a focus order, in that the object of the equation follows the copula. However, the object can be further focused by a second copula (often with emphatic particle -**ves**).

(12.69)

*e=ī ahare-men bēnun_vi_got-**akī**-ves.*

DEM3=COP 1-PL want_be.PST.PTCP_way-**COP**-EMPH

‘That is what we wanted too.’ (HD)

12.5.2 Word order in speech

In spoken Dhivehi, word order is considerably freer than in writing, and a non-focus verb will not necessarily be last in the sentence. The interplay of word order with emphasis and contrast, discourse salience, and the needs of online processing (not always knowing everything that one wants to say before beginning to say it) in spoken Dhivehi is in need of further study. The following are a few examples of non-canonical word order in spoken sentences. In these examples the verb or other predicator is shown in bold.

In the following example, taking along something to eat at an upcoming picnic has been established as a topic, and the speaker pauses to consider what she wants to suggest that they take after she has already started to speak.

(12.70)

gendamā... dō... mi kukuḷu kahala ecc-ek

take.HORT DM DEM1 chicken like thing-INDF

‘Let’s take... something like chicken, eh?’ (SC)

In 12.71, the initial constituent of the sentence (‘football’) picks up on the last word of her interlocutor’s utterance, which was a suggestion that the group play football. The speaker is specifically disagreeing with that suggestion. The subject, ‘these people here’, is not new information and so cannot be considered focused, but it is postponed after the words that align with (but negate) the previous speaker’s utterance.

(12.71)

fuṭbōḷa-ek nukuḷēne mi=ok_uḷē

football-INDF **NEG-play.FUT.3** DEM1=EMPH_live.PRS.PTCP

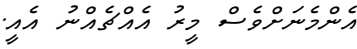
mihunn-ek

people-INDF

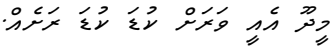
‘[They] **will not play** football, these people here.’ (SC)

In 12.72 the demonstrative and copula (which are informationally weak morphemes) are placed last in the sentence. The speaker is attempting to understand why

her interlocutor doesn't want to eat chicken. The emphasis (and implied contrast with her interlocutor) is on 'everyone'.

- (12.72) 
emmen-aṣ-ves mīru ecc-ek-nu e=ī
 everyone-DAT-EMPH tasty thing-INDF-TAG DEM3=COP
 'It's something everyone finds tasty, isn't it?' (SC)



Topicalization of a subject is also possible. In such cases the topic occurs first and is then restated as a subject demonstrative pronoun. In 12.73 (repeated from 6.8), the island Meedhoo is introduced as a topic about which the rest of the sentence (and many subsequent sentences in the spoken corpus) provide further information. The resumptive demonstrative pronoun is highlighted.

- (12.73) 
midū e=ī varaṣ kuḍa kuḍa raṣ-ek
 Meedhoo DEM3=COP very small small island-INDF
 'Meedhoo, **it**'s a very small little island.' (SC)

12.6 Statements of existence, location, and possession

Like many other South Asian languages (such as Hindi, Kachru 2006: 193), Dhivehi does not have a verb that translates specifically as 'have'. On the other hand, it uses six different verbs (and the two kinds of nonverbal predicators discussed in Section 12.1) where English uses a single verb 'be'. This section covers the use of those six verbs in statements of location and existence, and their extension to statements of possession.

12.6.1 Existence and location

The six existential and/or locational verbs are summarized in Table 12.1. In addition to the functions listed in the "Comment" column, these verbs also function as aspectual auxiliaries and as modals, as described in Section 11.3.1.1 and Section 11.3.2.1. While most of these verbs have senses that are not existential, all of them may be used in a statement of existence. The more existential senses of these verbs are listed first under "Gloss" in Table 12.1, while the less existential senses are listed afterward. The existential sense of these verbs are negated with  **neṭ** 'there is not', while the non-existential senses are negated by the addition of  **nu**-, as described in Section 12.7.

Where English tends to use forms of *be* to talk about either the location or the existence of people and things, as in, *The book is on the table* (locational), or *There is a book*

Verb	Gloss	Comment
vanī	is, becomes, happens	The most generic existential verb. Used instead of a predicate adjective or copula if tense is required. Can be used for statements of location, but location is not inherent to its meaning (unlike in the n-stem existentials). No bodily posture is implied. Also combines with nouns or adjectives to make intransitive and/or inactive compound verbs.
uḷenī	is (over some period), exists, lives	Has a durative sense. Most commonly used with animate beings.
hunnani	is (while located somewhere), is located (somewhere) in a standing position; waits, stays	Used for statements of locational existence. Choice of locational/postural verb depends on physical or metaphorical posture. Many non-material things are also given this verb, making it the most common of the n-stem existentials.
innani	is (while located somewhere), is located (somewhere) in a sitting position; marries (lit., sits with someone)	Used for statements of locational existence. Choice of locational/postural verb depends on physical or metaphorical posture.
onnani	is (while located somewhere), is located (somewhere) in a lying position; remains, stays	Used for statements of locational existence. Choice of locational/postural verb depends on physical or metaphorical posture.
tibenī	are (while located somewhere) in any position; wait, stay	Inherently plural. Used for statements of locational existence but does not specify a physical posture.

Table 12.1: Existential and locational verbs

on the table (existential), Dhivehi will generally specify whether the person or object is seated (𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **innanī**), standing (𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **hunnani**) or lying (𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **onnani**).¹¹ Which postural verb is used depends on the shape of the object or the posture of the person, but also on convention (see example 12.75—reasons do not literally stand).¹² 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **hunnani** and 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **onnani** are more commonly used than 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **innanī**. Like English *be*, these verbs have both locational and existential uses. When used locationally or existentially, these verbs are often in the past tense. The intuition here is that in order for something to be (presently) sitting in a certain place, it must have sat down there (past), and so forth.

The particle 𐋞𐋞𐋞 **eba-** (also discussed in Section 9.1.8) is used to lend existential force to a locational statement and serves to indicate that a past-tense verb in such a statement is to be understood as present. However, it occasionally occurs with present-tense locational/existential verbs as well. It does not co-occur with progressive/focus forms, in which case the past tense may still be understood as present tense (see, for example, 12.128).

(12.74) 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞

bappa-ge atu-gai fot-ek eba=ot=eve
father-GEN hand-LOC book-INDF **CONT=be(.lying).PST.3=END**

‘There **is** a book in Father’s hand [or: Father has a book in his hand].’ (FD)

(12.75) 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞

gabūlu_nu=kurā varaṣ_gina sababu-tak
approve_NEG=do.PRS.PTCP very_many reason-PL

eba=huri
CONT=be(.standing).PST.3

‘There **are** very many reasons not to approve [it].’ (HD)

(12.76) 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 20 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞

aharen-ge sikuñḍi-gai eba-iñ 20 kulumṭeri-ñ
1-GEN brain-LOC **CONT-be(.sitting).PST.PTCP** 20 athlete-PL

‘There **are** 20 athletes in my mind [or: I have 20 athletes in mind].’ (HD)

¹¹ For a cross-linguistic overview of the special functions of posture verbs, see Newman (2002).

¹² Both Cain and Gair (2000) and Shaadiqu (2012 [1993]) state that the default postural existential, when no physical posture is actually relevant, is 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **hunnani** ‘is (standing)’ for men and 𐋞𐋞𐋞𐋞 **innanī** ‘is (sitting)’ for women. This prescriptive distinction is not made in practice by the speakers of the modern Malé dialect.

Using a simple (non-progressive) present (or a simple past without **eba-**) in such a sentence lends a habitual reading, which is more easily applied to the non-existential senses, as shown in 12.77.

(12.77) *ahareñ mi=tāñ-gai hunnam=eve*

1 DEM1=place-LOC **be(.standing).1**=END

'I **stand/wait** here (regularly).' (C1)

The inherently plural verb **tibenī** 'are (located), wait' is also used for locational existence, despite the fact that Dhivehi usually does not have specifically plural verbs or plural inflection on verbs. This is presumably because a collection of objects or people may well be in an assortment of physical postures, in which case none of the postural existential/locational verbs would apply. As 12.75 and 12.76 show, however, the specifically postural verbs may be used for plural subjects if the people or objects can all be considered to be in the same position. The use of **tibenī** does not necessarily imply varied positions, however, merely plurality, as in 12.78.

(12.78) *komme kaunsil-ek-gai madu.ve.geñ 5 membaru-ñ*

each council-INDF-LOC at.least 5 member-PL

eba=tibe.=eve

CONT=**be.PL.PRS.3**=END

'There **are** at least 5 members on each council.' (HD)

Occasionally the plain existential **vanī** 'is, becomes' is used for locational statements, as in 12.79. Example 12.79 also illustrates the use of focus as a strategy to present the existence of something. Locational statements with **vanī** do not use **eba-**.

(12.79) *anek_farātu-gai vanī tarukāri gahu-ge*

the.other_side-LOC **be.PRS.FOC** vegetable plant-GEN

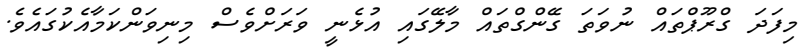
bagīcā-ek=eve

garden-INDF=END

'On the other side **is** a vegetable garden.' (FD)

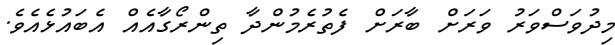
Existence that is inherently durative and not linked to a given physical posture will use **uḷenī** 'is, lives, exists', especially if it is about humans or other animate creatures, as in 12.80. Example 12.81 illustrates that in this respect diseases are considered

living things which have a durational existence. As with the postural verbs, non-focus forms of **uḷenī** may take the continuous marker **eba-**, as in 12.81.

(12.80) 

mi=fada grūp-taḳ̌ nuvata gēṅg-taḳ̌ mālē-gai uḷenī
 DEM1=kind group-PL or gang-PL Malé-LOC **live.PRS.FOC**
varaṣ.ves minivan.kam-ā-eku-ga=eve
 very.much freedom-SOC-with-LOC=END

‘Such groups or gangs **exist** in Malé with a lot of freedom.’ (HD)

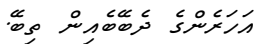
(12.81) 

mi=duvas.varu varaṣ bār-aṣ feture-mun_dā
 DEM1=day-amount very strong-ADV spread-SIML-go.PRS.PTCP
tin_rōgā-eḳ̌ eba=uḷe=eve
 three_flu-INDF **CONT=live=END**

‘These days there **are** three flus which are spreading very strongly.’ (HD)

12.6.2 Possession

The existential/locational verbs are also used to describe *possession*. In some cases possession is indicated by putting the possessor in the genitive (or occasionally dative—see 12.102) case and using a verb (or corresponding negation) of locational existence.

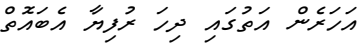
(12.82) 

aharen-ge de_bēbei-n tibē
 1-GEN two_older.brother-PL **be.PL.PRS.3**

‘I **have** two older brothers.’ (FW1)

The locative locution **atugai** ‘in the hand’ is also used with an existential/locational verb (or corresponding negative particle, see Section 12.7) to indicate possession. The **at** ‘hand’ is not to be taken literally here and it may or may not be preceded by a genitive marker on the individual.¹³ In 12.83, for example, there is no genitive marker. This sentence does not imply that the money is in the speaker’s hand or even with him or her at the present moment. In 12.84 the possession is highly non-literal.

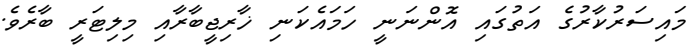
¹³ However, if someone does have something in their hand, the sentence can be translated in two different ways, as in 12.74.

(12.83) 

ahareñ atu-gai diha rufiyā eba=of

1 **hand-LOC** ten rufiyaa **CONT=be(.lying).PST.3**

‘I **have** ten rufiyaa.’ (FW1)

(12.84) 

mai_sarukāru-ge atu-gai onnanī hama_ekani



main_government-GEN hand-LOC **be(.lying).PRS.FOC** just_only

kārijī_bār-āi miḷitārī bār=eve

diplomatic_powers-CONJ military power=END

‘The main government **has** only diplomatic powers and military power.’



(HD)

The construction with a genitive possessor, as in 12.82, is used for possessions that fall into the general category of inalienable or immovable possessions, including family members, houses,¹⁴ personal characteristics, and experiences. The locative  **atugai** ‘in the hand’ construction is used for alienable possessions, such as money or movable objects. The removal of such an object from someone’s possession uses the ablative  **atuñ** ‘from the hand’, as in 12.20.

12.7 Negation

Sentences are negated somewhat differently depending on what kind they are, but all forms of indicative sentence negation (i.e., negation that occurs on indicative finite verbs or as an independent sentence-negating word) prescriptively require negative concord on the head of at least one phrase that precedes the negation, be it the head noun of a direct object, an indirect object or even a subject; an adjective; an adverb; a nonfinite verb; or other complement. The one phrase closest to the negation must take negative concord, but depending on the degree of emphasis, more than one phrase may take negative concord.

The most common form of negative concord is a suffix identical to either the indefinite or unspecified inflection on a noun (see Section 5.2 for indefinite and unspecified inflection on nouns). The result is that in nouns the semantic distinction between definite and indefinite is obscured in a negative context. Thus the negative concord marker is glossed as INDF or UNSP in nouns and adjectives (since adjectives are not always distinguished from nouns morphologically) but as NEGC elsewhere.

¹⁴ Being immovable, a house is considered a ‘place’,  **tañ**, in Dhivehi, not a ‘thing’,  **eti**, which may be relevant to the classification of a house with inalienable possessions.

Category	Marker
Noun	اَڪُ or اَڪُ aku, depending on semantics and/or case ending
Adjective	اَڪُ -ek
Adverb (if formed with اَڪُ -aṣ)	اَڪُ -akaṣ (as though a dative noun)
Infinitive	اَڪُ -Vkaṣ (i.e., vowel length plus اَڪُ -kaṣ)
Focus verb	اَڪُ -kī
Demonstrative copula (اَڪُ -ī)	اَڪُ -kī (optional)
Successive particle اَڪُ -fai	اَڪُ -kā (nonstandard), otherwise اَڪُ -ek
Other verbs, adverbs, particles	اَڪُ -ek

Table 12.2: Negative concord markers

12.7.1 Negation of nonverbal sentences

Nonverbal sentences are negated with **لَا** *nūn* ‘[is] not’. It constitutes an independent phonological word (whether orthographically spaced as such or not) and thus does not undergo inflectional n-gemination (described in Section 3.6.5) before **عَـ** *-eve*. Example 12.85 shows the negation of a sentence with a predicate adjective. The head of the adjectival phrase takes negative concord in the form of **لَا** *-ek*, normally the indefinite suffix for nouns. The negative and the negative concord marker are both shown in bold in 12.85.

[illegible]

investmant saiz 200 miliyan-aş_vure bod-**eḳ_nūn**=eve
investment saiz 200 million-DAT_compared.to big-**INDF_NEG**=END
'The investment size is **not** bigger than 200 million.' (HD)

Examples 12.86 and 12.87 show the negation of equational sentences. In such sentences the complement of the copula is a noun phrase, which will be in the indefinite (𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌰 -**eŋ**) or unspecified (𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌰 -**aku**) form. The presence of indefinite inflection on a noun phrase in this context is often consistent with the meaning of the noun phrase (in other words, such noun phrases are often indefinite anyway), but it need not be, such as when the noun phrase is accompanied by a demonstrative (see 12.109) or is a pro-

noun (see 12.115). Either way, only one indefinite (or unspecified) suffix will appear on the noun. Often the head noun of an equational complement is either a generic noun (as in 12.86) or a repetition of the head of the subject noun phrase (as in 12.87).

- [illegible]

inkamṭeks *negum=akī* *rājījē-gai*
income.tax take.VN-COP country-LOC

kurā_kam-eḳ_nūn=eve
do.PRS.PTCP action-**INDF** **NEG**=END

'Collecting income tax is **not** something that is done in the Maldives.' (HD)

- [illegible]

muzāharā_kuri *mihuñ buni_gotu-gai*
demonstration do.PST.PTCP people say.PST.PTCP_way-LOC

<i>tailenḍu-ge</i>	<i>boḍu-vazīru-ge</i>	<i>sarukār=akī</i>	<i>qānūnī</i>
Thailand-GEN	prime-minister-GEN	government=COP	legal

sarukār-ek *nūn*=eve
government-INDF NEG=END

'According to the demonstrators, the government of the prime minister of Thailand is **not** a legal government.' (HD)

When the subject of the copula is a demonstrative pronoun, the copula may (as in 12.88) or may not (as in 12.89) take a negative concord form, which adds \neg -**ki** to the demonstrative copula \neg -**i**. Given that the copula does not immediately precede the negation in a rhetorically neutral sentence, the \neg -**ki** is optional—adding it is a matter of emphasis. The complement of the copula, however, regularly takes negative concord.

- (12.88) $\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$

ehā_dur-eḳ_nūñ *e=ī-kī_dō*
so far-**INDF** **NEG** DEM3=COP-**NEGC**=TAG

'That's not so far, eh?' (SC)

- (12.89) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{ر} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \\ \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \\ \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \end{array}$

e=ī *sīdā* *vāhaka_dakkā* *vasīlat-ek^o* *nūn=eve*
DEM3=COP straight speech show.PRS.PTCP means-**INDF** **NEG=END**

'That [radio telephone] was **not** a means of conversing directly.' (HD)

nūn may also be used when the main verb is in focus form, if the negation is included in what is being focused. As in 12.90, the negation itself may be what is focused, in which case the verb is treated as the complement that takes negative concord. Focus verbs take *-kī* as negative concord, as in 12.90 and 12.91.

(12.90) *ḥuṭṭuvā lanī-kī sarukāru-n*

bēru mīhu-n genaum sarukāru-n
foreign person-PL bringing government-PL

ḥuṭṭuvā lanī-kī nūn
stop.CAUS.CNV_put.PRS.FOC-NEG NEG

‘The government has **not** stopped the import of foreigners.’ (HD)

(12.91) *miḥāru-ge sarukāru otī-kī*

miḥāru-ge sarukāru otī-kī
now-GEN government be(.sitting).PST.FOC-NEG

e=hā var-aṣ hē la-ek nūn=eve
DEM3=amount_amount-DAT consciousness_put.CNV-NEG NEG=END

‘The present government is **not** that awake.’ (HD)

In 12.92, on the other hand, there is no *-kī*, but the focused phrase receives negative concord.

(12.92) *rayyitun bēnum vanī nufūz=āi bār-ek nūn=eve*

rayyitun bēnum vanī nufūz=āi bār-ek nūn=eve
citizens need_be.PRS.FOC influence=CONJ power-INDF-NEG=END

‘The public do **not** want influence and power. [Or: What the public wants is not influence and power]’ (HD)

While it may be tempting to explain the difference between 12.91 and 12.92 as a matter of scope (the public do want something, it’s just not influence or power), other examples suggest otherwise. Examples 12.93 and 12.94 contrast in their use of *-kī* but not in their use of scope. In 12.93 the president has been given a description of the situation, but it has not been done well. On the other hand, in 12.94, *-kī* is used, even though the government is presumably doing things, so the difference is one merely of emphasis. Examples 12.93 and 12.94 also demonstrate the use of negative concord on an adverb.

(12.93) *raīs nashīd-aṣ mi=faharu manzaru*

president Nasheed-DAT DEM1=instance scene

sifa_koṣ_devi=fai_e=vanī

shape_do.CNV_is.given.CNV=SUCC_DEM3=be.PRS.FOC

raṅgaḷ-ak-aṣ nūn=eve

good-NEGC-ADV NEG=END

‘President Nasheed has **not** been given a good picture this time.’ (HD)

(12.94) *mihāru ahareñ dekē gotu-gai sarukāru-ñ kaṁ-taḵ*

now 1 see.PRS.PTCP_way-LOC government-PL action-PL

kurañi=kī raṅgaḷ-ak-aṣ nūn=eve

do.PRS.FOC=NEGC good-NEGC-ADV NEG=END

‘As I see it now, the government is **not** doing things well.’ (HD)

In example 12.95, the focused element specifically does not include the negated part of the sentence. In other words, the athletes *are* being given time to rest, rather than not being given time to rest. In this case the negation is on the focus verb itself, as it is on finite verbs, described in Section 12.7.3. The focus verb, being nonfinite, does not require negative concord. More work is needed on the interaction of focus and the scope of negation.

(12.95) *ahareñ e=kuḷum̐teri-n kēp-gai himanā-fai*

1 DEM3=athlete-PL camp-LOC include.CNV-SUCC

nu=vanī e=kuḷum̐teri-nn-aṣ arām kurumu-ge got-un

NEG-be.PRS.FOC DEM3=athlete-PL-DAT rest do.VN-GEN_way-ABL

vagutu dinum-aṣ

time give.VN-DAT

‘I **have not** included those athletes in the camp, so as to give them time to rest.’ (HD)

Progressive verbs, which look like focus verbs but occur finally, do not take the *net* negation.¹⁵ Example 12.96 also shows that progressive verbs often fail to trigger negative concord, being nonfinite.

(12.96) *adi-ves massala ḥallu_nu=vanī=eve*

still-EMPH problem solution_NEG-be.PRS.PROG=END

‘The problem is still **not** being solved.’ (HD)

12.7.2 Existential negation

Existential sentences are often negated with sentence-final *net* and no verb. This negation particle can be translated as ‘there is no(t)’, and it takes the place of any existential verb in the corresponding positive sentence. Although *net* was originally an uninflecting predicator, it has been used to create a true inflecting verb, *neteni* ‘is absent’, which is used in some contexts in the modern language (Reynolds 2003). *net* may be used with either present or past meaning. It has the converb *neti* used in subordinate clauses (for which see Section 13.1.2).

The following sentences illustrate the use of *net*. Example 12.98 also illustrates negative concord with an infinitive complement. Infinitives undergo stem allomorphy in order to take negative concord, losing their final /n/, lengthening the preceding vowel, and adding *-kaš*. This can be considered the dative unspecified *-akaš* ending (as also used in adverbs and dative nouns), together with assimilation of the suffix vowel to that of the verb.

(12.97) *jināi kōṭu-ge bēnum-ek_net=eve*

criminal court-GEN need-INDF_NEG=END

‘**There is no** need for a criminal court.’ (HD)

¹⁵ A verb with progressive/focus marking may occur just before a final *net*, as in 12.90. In such a case, however, the negation is being focused, so the verb is a focus verb.

(12.98) *ēhenas e=hisābu-gai mīh-aku fennā-kaš*

however DEM3=spot-LOC person-UNSP be.seen.INF-NEG
NEG=END

net=eve

NEG=END

‘However, there was no one to be seen there.’ (PB)

Existential negation can also be used with an infinitive to indicate something that will not happen. Its use in 12.98 is such a use. In this type of construction **net** takes person agreement and can be used as a way to refuse doing something, as in 12.99. Thus first-person forms are rather frequent in such constructions.

(12.99) *ehen.nama.ves e=hiyālu mihāru dannavā-kaš netim*

Nevertheless DEM3=idea now tell.INF-NEG **NEG.1**

‘Nevertheless, [I] am **not** going to tell that idea now.’ (HD)

The same type of effect can be obtained by negating the existence of the relevant action (**kañ** ‘action’).

(12.100) *vīmā e=tan-aš vannāne kam-ek net=eve*

therefore DEM3=place-DAT enter.FUT.PTCP **action-INDF NEG=END**

‘So [we] will **not** enter there [lit. So there is **no action** that will enter there].’ (PB)

The negative existential **net** is also used in place of the existential and locational verbs to negate possession, as in 12.101 through 12.103. The occasional possessor in the dative case, as in 12.102, takes negative concord, unlike most normal subjects, while those that take genitive case, as in 12.101, or locative **atugai** ‘in the hand’, as in 12.103, do not take negative concord.

(12.101) *e=kamu-gai muvazzafu-n-ge evves kuş-ek net=eve*

DEM3=action-LOC employee-PL-GEN any fault-INDF **NEG=END**

‘The employees bear **no** fault in that.’ (HD)

(12.102) *raīs Nashīd-ak-aş Addu_Atoḷ-aş siṭī-ek-ge*
 president Nasheed-UNSP-DAT Addu.Atoll-DAT city-INDF-GEN

daraja_dinum-ge bār-eḳ nuvata ḥaqq-eḳ net
 status_give.VN-GEN strength-INDF or right-INDF **NEG**

‘President Nasheed **does not have** the power or the right to give Addu Atoll the status of a city’ (MN)

(12.103) *e=vōṭ hōdi līḍaru-n-ge atu-gai evves*
 DEM3=vote obtain.PST.PTCP leader-PL-GEN hand-LOC any

nājāizu faidā-eḳ evves korupshan-eḳ evves ḍīl-eḳ
 illegal benefit-INDF any corruption-INDF any deal-INDF

net=eve

NEG=END

‘The leaders who obtained that vote **did not have** any illegal advantage, any corruption, any deal.’ (HD)

The negative existential can be used, parallel to the existential/locational verbs, as a perfect-forming auxiliary.

(12.104) *e=gōti-taku-gai ehen-raş-ek-ge bayaku*
 DEM3-house.compound-PL-LOC other-island-INDF-GEN someone

vazan.veri ve-fai-eḳ net=eve
 inhabitant **be.CNV-SUCC-NEG** **NEG**=END

‘**No** one from another island **has** settled in those houses.’ (HD)

Negation using existential/locational verbs is also possible. Example 12.105 uses the descriptive future tense (described for positive sentences in Section 12.2.3), while 12.106 uses focus, two syntactic constructions that call for full verbs.

(12.105) *deñ fot-eḳ ecc-eḳ-ves nu=hunnāne*
 then book-INDF thing-INDF-EMPH **NEG-be(standing).FUT.3**

‘And **there are no** books and things.’ (SC)

(12.106) *salāmaṭ koṣ dēne mih-aku-ves*

rescue_do.CNV_give.FUT.PTCP person-UNSP

hurī-kī nūn=eve

be(.standing).PST.FOC_NEG=END

‘**There was no** one who would rescue [him].’ (PB)

Sometimes *vani* ‘is, becomes’ is negated to make global statements of non-existence.

(12.107) *ehen dīn-ek nu=ve=eve*

other religion-INDF **NEG-be.PRS.3=END**

‘**There is no** other religion.’ (HD)

12.7.3 Verbal sentence negation

Sentences with verbs other than existential/locational and focus verbs are negated with the negative prefixing particle *nu-* on the verb. The complement of the verb will take negative concord.

(12.108) *natijā raṅgaḷ-ek nu=vāne=eve*

result good-INDF **NEG-be.FUT.3=END**

‘The results will **not** be good.’ (HD)

Although *nu-* is generally prefixed to verbs, the emphatic particle *ves* may intervene between it and a verb, lending a meaning of ‘not even’, as in 12.109. As 12.109 also illustrates, negative sentences tend to be in the simple present, neutralizing the distinction between past and present tense and between progressive, perfect, and habitual aspect.

(12.109) *ahareṇ e=faisā-ek nu=ves dakkam=eve*

1 DEM3-money-INDF **NEG=EMPH** pay.PRS.1=END

‘I **didn’t** [lit. **don’t**] even pay that money.’ (HD)

The emphatic particle *me* may also be added to *nu-* to lend emphasis. It will be paired with a *me* added to the verb (or to *nūn* or *net*). The emphatic

word **hilā** ‘at all’ may also be used to emphasize negation, with or without the further addition of **hama** ‘just’.

(12.110) **rasūl-ā-ge ḥadīs-tak-aṣ mā-boḍu iskam-ek**

prophet-DEF-GEN saying-PL-DAT too_big importance-INDF

nu=me=dē=me=eve

NEG=EMPH=give.PRS.3=EMPH=END

‘[They] are **not** giving much importance to the Prophet’s sayings.’ (HD)

(12.111) **hama_hilā eheñ viyaka nu=dēnam=eve**

just_at all thus allowed NEG=give.FUT.1=END

‘[I/we] won’t allow that **at all**.’

Although the negative particle **nu-** attaches to verbs of all sorts, including verbal nouns, when verbs work together in a verbal complex it is the inflecting verb—the light verb, auxiliary, or modal—that receives the negative prefix (usually the last verb in the complex, unless there is focus). Similarly, in a noun-verb compound, the **nu-** attaches to the verb. Example 12.112 shows negation on an auxiliary. The successive particle on the converb takes negative concord of **-ek**.

(12.112) **namaves pākistānu sarukāru-n e=kam-aṣ evves**

however Pakistan government-PL DEM3-action-DAT any

jabāb-ek dī-fa-ek nu=ve=eve

answer-INDF give.CNV-SUCC-NEGC **NEG=be.PRS.3=END**

‘However, the Pakistan government has **not** given any answer to that.’ (HD)

Because verbal complexes are often written without spaces, the written result of verbal negation is often a **nu-** inside of a long orthographic word, where it can easily be overlooked by beginning readers of Dhivehi. When the verb is finite, the noun or adjective of a compound verb will generally take the negative concord, as will the object of the compound verb.

(12.113) **masakkatu-ge vagut-ek kuḍa-ek nu=kure=eve**

work-GEN time-INDF small-INDF **NEG=do.PRS.3=END**

‘[They] have **not** decreased the work time.’ (HD)

When ^{nu}- precedes a vowel-initial verb, the /u/ assimilates to the vowel of the verb, with the result that the vowel becomes long, as in ^{nu}āngā ‘not telling’, from ^{nu}- + ^{angā} ‘tell.PRS.PTCP’. Example 12.114 illustrates the assimilation of ^{nu}- to initial /e/.

(12.114) ^{āngā} ^{nu} ^{ek} ^{ves} ^{ge} ^{nam} ^{ek} ^{nu} ^{āngā}

ē-ge i[ñ]girēsi nam-ek n=ēñge
DEM3-GEN English name-INDF NEG=know.PRS.3
ek-got-ak-aš-ves
one-way-UNSP-ADV-EMPH

‘[I] **don’t know** its English name at all.’ (SC)

Dative, ablative/instrumental, and locative nouns do not occur in the indefinite inflection. Their negative concord particle is thus always the unspecified suffix. Verbs that take experiencer dative subjects will usually trigger negative concord on both the “subject” (in the unspecified dative form) and on the object or other complement.

(12.115) ^{mi} ^{vāhaka} ^{rañgaḷ-aš} ^{kiyai.dē-kaš} ^{ahann-ak-aš}

mi=vāhaka rañgaḷ-aš kiyai.dē-kaš ahann-ak-aš
DEM1=story good-ADV tell.INF-NEG 1-UNSP-DAT
n-ēñge=eve
NEG-know.PRS.3=END

‘I **don’t** know how to tell this story well.’ (HD)

(12.116) ^{aḷugañḍ-ak-aš} ^{evves} ^{var-ak-aš} ^{tad-ek_nu=vē}

aḷugañḍ-ak-aš evves var-ak-aš tad-ek_nu=vē
1-UNSP-DAT any amount-UNSP-DAT pain-INDF_NEG-be.PRS.3

‘I **don’t** have any pain. [lit., I don’t have pain to any extent.]’ (HD)

Verbs that take both an indirect and a direct object may show negative concord only on whichever phrase more closely precedes the verb. Compare 12.117 and 12.118.

(12.117) ^{ekamaku} ^{e=furuṣatu} ^{qāsim} ^{maumūn-ak-aš}

ekamaku e=furuṣatu qāsim maumūn-ak-aš
but DEM3=opportunity Qasim Maumoon-UNSP-DAT
nu=devvi
NEG=give.HON.PST.3

‘But Qasim didn’t give Maumoon that opportunity.’ (HD)

(12.118)

namaves vazīru-n̄ mi=da'uvat-aṣ ijāba-ek̄
 however minister-PL DEM1=invitation-DAT response-**INDF**

nu=de=eve

NEG=give.PRS.3=END

'However, the ministers are **not** responding to this invitation.' (HD)

A subject may also take negative concord. So-called dative subjects usually do, but direct-case subjects sometimes do as well. It is especially likely if the subject is immediately before the verb, but may also occur elsewhere, as in 12.119, where it carries an emphatic tone.

(12.119)

aḷugañḍ-ek̄ fuluhu.nn-ak-aṣ nu=ves angam̄
 1.DFR-**INDF** police.PL-**UNSP**-DAT **NEG**=**EMPH** inform.PRS.1

'I have **not even** informed the police.' (HD)

Verbs other than the main verb in the sentence may also be negated. In such cases the rules of negative concord do not apply, as discussed further in Section 13.1.2.

12.8 Questions and exclamations

This section considers questions and exclamations in Dhivehi. Questions are formed with one of four interrogative particles. Those of the so-called “wh-” type (which use words like *who*, *what*, *when*, etc. in English) use interrogative words that start with **k-**, cognate with the English wh-words, as set out in Section 6.4. Exclamations may also use interrogative words, though not always.

12.8.1 Questions

Questions are marked with one of the four interrogative particles, **-ta**, **-tō**, **hē**, and **baa**, which were introduced in Section 9.1.3 and are summarized in Table 12.3.¹⁶ The particles **-ta** and **-tō** are almost invariably written as suffixes on the preceding word, **hē** and **baa** less consistently so.

Wh-questions use an interrogative phrase to which a question particle is appended, while yes/no questions use only the question particle, appended to the predicator or to the focused element of the sentence. Example 12.120 is the wh-question form of an

¹⁶ For the use of **-tō** as a complementizer of questioning or doubt, see Section 13.2.1.

Spoken form	Written form	Use
ﻻ -ta	Not generally used except in direct quotes	Basic (spoken) question particle
ﻻ -tō	ﻻﻻ -tō-eve (if final)	Honorific of ﻻ -ta, used as an addressee honorific
ﻻ hē, ﻻﻻ heyyē	ﻻﻻ heyy-eve	Used to repeat or quote a question or to write a question that would otherwise use ﻻ -ta
ﻻ baa	ﻻﻻ bāva-eve, ﻻﻻ baa-eve	Used to present something one is wondering about

Table 12.3: Question particles

equational sentence in informal, spoken style, while 12.121 is the yes/no question form of a sentence with a predicate adjective, addressed to an addressee meriting honorifics (whether mid-level or high).

- (12.120) ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ
rasūl-ā-ge kāfā-ful=akī kaku=ta
 prophet-DEF-GEN grandfather-HON=COP **who=Q**
 ‘**Who** was the Prophet’s grandfather?’ (DT)

- (12.121) ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ
alhān-āi ḍi.ār.pī-ge guḷuṁ adi.ves raṅgaḷu=tō
 Alhan-SOC DRP-GEN tie.VN still good=Q
 ‘Are the DRP [Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party]’s ties with Alhan still good?’
 (HD)

As mentioned in Section 8.3, second-person questions take ﻻ -m person marking on the verb, identical to that of the first person.

- (12.122) ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ ﻻﻻ
alī mi=mecu balai-fim=ta
 Ali DEM1=match look.CNV-PRF.2=Q
 ‘Did you [lit. Ali] watch the match?’ (FW1)

It is common, but not necessary, for the interrogative phrase of a sentence to be focused, and thus to occur after the verb (which will be in focus form), at the end of the sentence. Example 12.123 illustrates this with a sentence containing the particle **baa**.

- (12.123) *ṛā atoḷū ofis alifuṭṭ-aṣ badalu_nu_kurī*
 Raa atoll office Alifushi-DAT change_NEG-do.PST.FOC
kāḱve_bāva=eve
why_Q=END

‘Why wasn’t the Raa Atoll office transferred to Alifushi [I wonder]!’ (HD)

The set of examples in 12.124 through 12.126 illustrate the range uses of **hē**. Example 12.124 is a spoken sentence in which the speaker quotes his own question, which presumably originally contained **-ta**. Example 12.125 is a line of dialog in a book, which could still be considered a quotation of a question. Example 12.126 is simply a written question. It also demonstrates that question marks are not always used for questions in Dhivehi.

- (12.124) *bunī-ma deñ aḱai-fin kon_kahala kam-ek hē*
 say.PST.PTCP-SIML then ask.CNV-PRF.1 which_sort action-INDF_Q
 ‘When [they] said [that], then [I] asked, ‘What sort of activity?’ (SC)

- (12.125) *jinni-ek n-ānnāne heyṛ=eve*
 genie-INDF NEG-come.FUT.3 **Q=END**
 ‘Won’t a genie come?’ (VN)

- (12.126) *divehi_rāḱje-aṣ bēnum_vanī 22 ministrī heyṛ=eve*
 Dhivehi_country-DAT need_be.PRS.FOC 22 ministry **Q=END**
 ‘Does the Maldives need 22 ministries?’ (HD)

In written questions the question particle often comes last, due to the interrogative phrase often being in focus position. However, in speech the interrogative phrase is more variable in its placement, and the question particle may thus occur sentence internally, after whatever element of the sentence is being asked about. In 12.127 the verb

is last and the interrogative phrase is before it, while in 12.128 it is another sentence element that is focused.

(12.127)

mihāru mi=kam-ā dēterē ti=bēfuḥu-ñ
now DEM1=action-SOC between DEM2=aristocrat-PL

kon_kam-ek-tō *ti=kuravvanī*
which_action-INDF-Q DEM2=do.HON.PRS.PROG

‘**What** are you honorable people doing about this now?’ (SC)

(12.128)

kōc[c]-ek-ta *hurī miadu kāñ*
what-INDF-Q is(standing).PST.FOC today eat.INF

‘**What** is there to eat today?’ (SC)

The interrogative particle -**ta** may be left off of a wh-question, as the presence of a k-initial interrogative word serves to make clear that it is a question, as in 12.129. -**tō** is not omitted, however, as it is required to set the appropriate honorific tone. Example 12.129 also shows that **kihinek** ‘how, how many’ can function as a predicate adjective, not requiring a verb.

(12.129)

kihinek *deñ mihāru māle*
how then now Malé

‘So **how** is Malé now?’ (SC)

12.8.2 Exclamations

Exclamations, as in English (compare **What large teeth you have, Grandmother!**), may also use interrogative words of quantity. In 12.130, the interrogative **kihā** ‘how much’ is used; such a sentence ends in the question particle **hē**.

(12.130)

mī=ī kihā rīti bagīcā-ek=heyy=eve
DEM1=COP **how.much** beautiful garden-INDF=Q=END

‘**What** a beautiful garden this is!’ (FD)

Another way of forming an exclamation is with the degree modifier **hāda** ‘very much’, used in combination with the emphatic particle **-ē**.

- (12.131) *iburāhimā ‘alī-ge raṭṭehi ḥasan=akī hāda raṅgaḷu*
 Ibrahim-VOC Ali-GEN friend Hassan=COP **very.much** good
kujj-ek-ē
 child-INDF-**EMPH**
 ‘What a good child Hassan’s friend Ali is, Ibrahim’ (D3)

12.8.3 Tag questions

Tag questions (analogous to sentence-final expressions like *isn’t it?* and *don’t you?* in English) are formally expressed with the negative particle **nūñ** ‘not’ plus a question particle, as in *nūñ-tō*, *nūñ-ta*, or *nūñhey-eve*, or more informally with *-eknu* (or *-eknuñ*). Tag question particles do not usually require negative concord, except when they are appended to negative sentences that end in the negative particle **nūñ** ‘not’ or the negative existential **net** ‘there is no(t)’, as in 12.133. These negative particles take **-ek** as negative concord. Arguably, however, *-eknu* contains its own negative concord.

- (12.132) *ehen.nama.ves e-mīhu-ñ hama e danī nūñ=tō*
 nevertheless DEM3-person-PL just DEM3 go.PRS.PROG=**TAG**
 ‘Nevertheless, they just go [on] [causing unrest], **don’t they?**’ (SC)

- (12.133) *ehen mīh-aku ais=geñ kurāne kam-ek*
 other person-UNSP come.CNV=SUC do.FUT.PTCP_action-INDF
mi=tā-ku net-ek nūñhey=eve
 DEM1=place-UNSP NEG-**NEGC_TAG**=END
 ‘There is nothing that someone else will come and do here, **is there?**’ (HD)

- (12.134) *e-tañ e-hā gōh-ek nūñ=eknu*
 DEM3-place DEM3-amount bad-INDF NEG=**TAG**
 ‘That place isn’t so bad, **is it?**’ (SC)

While the formal tag questions occur at the end of a sentence, *-eknu* may also appear elsewhere, added to whatever element of the sentence the speaker wants to emphasize, as in 12.135, which uses the descriptive future discussed in Section 12.2.3. In a sentence such as 12.135, the listener is not actually being asked to agree, as the use of the descriptive future implies that the listener has never seen the houses, but some sort of listener engagement is being solicited.

- (12.135) *ṛīti-koṣṣ rānā=fa=eknu hunnānī*
 pretty-ADV plaster.CNV=SUCC=TAG be(.standing).FUT.PROG
 ‘[The houses] will have been nicely plastered, **eh?**’ (SC)

As mentioned in Section 9.4, *-dō* may also be added to the ends of sentences to solicit the agreement of the listener. The honorific version of *-dō* is *dettō*.

- (12.136) *hasan uḷunī kenḍi-ga=dō*
 Hassan live.PST.FOC Kandy-LOC=TAG
 ‘Hassan lived in Kandy, **didn’t he?**’ (SC)

12.9 Commands and requests

The bare imperative (see Section 8.3.4.1) is used for direct commands. In spoken Dhi-vehi the bare imperative is the same as the third person present, except for the verb *deni* ‘gives’, which has third-person present *dē* and imperative *dī*. The spoken bare imperative may be encountered in writing in direct quotes, enclosed by quotation marks. However, the use of quotation marks does not guarantee the use of spoken forms. The bare imperative is blunt and not particularly polite.

- (12.137) “*komme.ves mihaku ahareṇ salāmaṭ_kurē*
 some.or.other person.UNSP 1 safety_do.IMP
 “‘Someone **save** me!’” (D3)

When an imperative is quoted or repeated, it takes the quotative form, which adds the quotative *-ē* (or the hearsay marker *-ō*) to the present participle (not to the third-person present), supplemented with *ṣ*.

(12.138)

hurihā_emmeñ kairī bunānī komme_mīh-aku-ves
all_everyone near tell.FUT.FOC which_person-UNSP-EMPH

komme_s ecc-ek hadāṣ-ē
which-EMPH thing-INDF **make.IMP-QUOT**

‘[We] will tell everyone, “Each person **make** something.”’ (SC)

As written Dhivehi behaves like quoted speech in various respects (such as in the use of question particles, Section 12.8.1), the written form of the bare imperative is also a participle that ends in **-eve**.

(12.139)

aḷugañḍ-aṣ vōṭ dēṣ=eve
1.DEFR-DAT vote **give.IMP=END**

‘**Vote** for me.’ (HD)

The particle **bala** is often added to imperatives without much change of meaning from the bare imperative. **bala** acts like the main verb of the sentence, in the sense that the semantically dominant verb will be in the converb form when followed by **bala**. Also, like other imperative verbs, it has a long vowel followed by **s** when it is followed by **-eve**, (as in 12.141). But while **bala** is clearly derived from the imperative of **balani** ‘looks’, it is no longer the same as the imperative of that verb, which is **balā**, with a long vowel even when not followed by **-eve**.

(12.140)

āñ bappa kairī assava[i]_bala
yes father near ask.HON.CNV_IMP

‘Yes, ask Father.’ (SC)

Adding **dī** (the imperative or converb of **deni** ‘gives’) makes an imperative more polite, indicating that the person will be acting for someone else’s benefit.

(12.141)

mi=tan-uñ ahareñ bēṛ-aṣ nukunnāne got-ek
DEM1=place-ABL 1 outside-DAT go.out.FUT.PTCP way-INDF

bune_dī balāṣ=eve
tell.CNV **give.CNV_IMP=END**

‘Please tell me a way I can get out of here.’ (PB)

The words **nikam̐** or **aḷe** may be used as ‘please’, but their use is not as necessary to politeness as in English.

(12.142) *nikam̐ visnāṣ=eve*

please think.IMP=END

‘Please think.’ (HD)

(12.143) *mi=vā_goṭ aḷe bune_dī_balāṣ=eve*

DEM1=be.PRS.PTCP_way **please** tell.CNV_give.CNV_IMP=END

‘Please tell [me] how it is.’ (HD)

The suffix **-ti**, attached to the present participle, yields an imperative that gives instruction or advice rather than an immediate command, as in 12.144. As 12.144 also illustrates, a negative imperative does not call for negative concord (although its complement may be indefinite for other reasons). According to De Silva, the negative imperative in the **-ti** form means ‘don’t begin to’ rather than ‘stop doing’ (M. W. Sugathapala De Silva 1970: 152–153), and speaker assessments tend to corroborate that.¹⁷

(12.144) *nama.nama raīs maumūn-aṣ vōṭ nu=lā-ti*

watch.out president Maumoon-DAT vote **NEG-put-IMP**

‘Watch out, **don’t** vote for President Maumoon.’ (HD)

Imperatives formed from the verb stem suffixed with **-ccē** are considered general advice rather than direct commands. Reynolds (2003) reports that **-ccē** is more polite than **-ti**. However, **-ccē** may also be the repeated (spoken) form of the **-ti** imperatives. In 12.145 it is a polite suggestion.

(12.145) *foto aruva-ccē iṅgē fēsbuk-aṣ*

photo **hang.on-IMP** DM facebook-DAT

‘Upload photos to Facebook, OK?’ (SC)

The written, sentence-final form of either the **-ti** or the **-ccē** imperative suffix is **-cveve** with the addition of sentence-final **-eve**, which also attaches

¹⁷ It may be that the **-ti** imperative should be considered a future imperative; arguably, instruction or advice is something that one should follow in the future.

to the verb's present-tense stem (which, unlike the present participle, has a short final vowel). This written imperative is not terribly common.

- (12.146) *hañdāñ_kura-cc=eve*
 memory_do.**IMP**=END
 'Remember!!' (HD)

The future tense of the verb *vanī* 'is, becomes' in its modal use (for more on which see Section 11.3.2.1) may be used to give instructions.

- (12.147) *ekamaku hiñgan_vānī magu-ge ek-farātu-n*
 but walk.INF_**be.FUT.FOC** road-GEN one-side-ABL
 'But [you] **should** walk on one side of the road.' (D3)

Imperatives addressed to God take the suffix *-ñdē* (in spoken form) or *-ñdēve* (in written form) attached to the present participle of the (high) honorific verb.

- (12.148) *kāfaru-n-ge_terein ek-aku=ves mi=biñ_matī-gai*
 infidel-PL-GEN_among one-UNSP=EMPH DEM1=ground_surface-LOC
nu=bahattavā-ñdēve
NEG-leave.HON-DIMP
 'Do not leave a single one among the infidels on this land!' (HD)

The divine optative, ending in *-ši*, expresses a wish that God would do something.

- (12.149) *ēnā-aṣ kāmīyābu devvā-ši=eve*
 3-DAT success **give.HON-DOPT**=END
 'May [God] **give** him success!' (HD)

- (12.150) *e=radunn-aṣ heyo_rahmat lavvā-ši=eve*
 DEM3=king-DAT good_mercy **put.HON-DOPT**=END
 'May [God] **grant** the king mercy!' (HD)

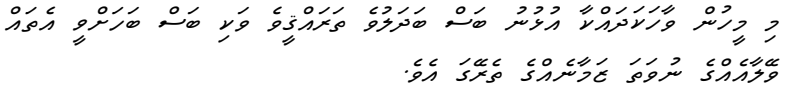
13 Complex Sentences

This chapter turns to complex sentences—those consisting of more than one clause. Because Dhivehi generally allows at most one finite verb per sentence, all other verbs in the sentence must be subordinated to that verb (or other main-clause predicator) in some way. The three main types of subordination that will be discussed here are clause chaining by means of converbs; clausal complements, which are created with the use of complementizers and participles; and adverbial clauses, which are created with participles to which various particles are attached. The use of participial clauses to modify noun phrases is covered in Section 10.3 but is also relevant to the creation of clausal complements. The use of infinitives as the complement of other verbs has been covered in Section 11.3.2, and their use as complements of nouns is in Section 10.4.

Exceptions to the rule limiting finite verbs to one per sentence occur in embedded questions and in quotes, which are also discussed in this chapter, in Section 13.2.1 and Section 13.3 respectively.

13.1 Clause chaining

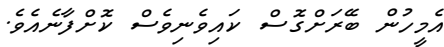
Dhivehi does not co-ordinate verbs or verb phrases. In other words, there is no literal equivalent of an English sentence such as *I went to the store **and** bought bread*, in which *went to the store* and *bought bread* are co-ordinated verb phrases. Instead, Dhivehi uses a technique typical of South Asian languages (Masica 1991: 397–401, Subbarao 2008: 73–75) sometimes known as *clause chaining*, by which clauses headed by converbs (often called ‘conjunctive participles’) are subordinated to the one main clause of the sentence, whose verb is the only finite verb allowed in the sentence. In Dhivehi focus/progressive verbs are also allowed as the main verb. The resulting sentence translates literally as something like ‘Having gone to the store, I bought bread,’ but often a simple ‘and’ is the most natural translation of the link between the two clauses. The subordinate nonfinite verbs in chained clauses are converbs (presented in Section 8.3.3.1). In 13.1, for example, there are two instances of the converb ވ **ve** ‘be.CNV’.

- (13.1) 

mi mihu-ñ vāhaka.dakkā uḷunu bas
 DEM1 person-PL speak.CNV live.PST.PTCP language
badalu_ve taraqqī_ve vaki bas
 change_be.CNV development_be.CNV separate language
bah-aṣṣ vī etak vēlā-ek-ge nuvata
 ~REDUP-DAT_be.PST.FOC many time-INDF-GEN or
zamān-ek-ge terē-ga =eve
 era-INDF-GEN inside-LOC =END

‘Over many ages or eras, the language they spoke **changed** and **developed** and **became** various separate languages.’ (DW)

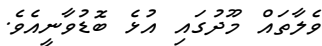
Being nonfinite, a converb does not inflect for tense, aspect, mood, or person. Usually the tense, mood, and/or aspect may be inferred from the finite verb, as in 13.2, in which the potential mood of the main verb may be considered to apply to the converb as well.

- (13.2) 

e-mihu-ñ bēr-aṣ_gos kaiveni-ves
 DEM-person-PL outside-DAT_go.CNV marriage-EMPH
koṣṣ-fāne=eve
 do.CNV-POT.3=END

‘They **might go** abroad and even **marry**.’ (HD)

The relative timing of the action or event of the converb with respect to that of the finite verb is not fully specified. In the absence of a successive particle (discussed further in Section 13.1.1), the action or event of the converb may either temporally precede that of the main verb, as in 13.2, or be concurrent with it, as in 13.3; but it will not follow it. Again, note that the future tense and progressive aspect of the main verb apply to the interpretation of the converb as well.

- (13.3) 

velā-tak mūdu-gai uḷe boḍu_vānī=eve
 sea.turtle-PL shallow.sea-LOC live.CNV big_be.FUT.PROG=END

‘The sea turtles **will be living** in the sea and **growing up**.’ (EA)

Clause chaining by means of converbs is not restricted to clauses that are being chained to the main clause of a sentence. Subordinate clauses, such as noun-modifying

participial clauses, may be chained with each other. In 13.4, for example, the converb ('go') is chained to a participle ('come').

- (13.4) *atiri_macc-aṣ gos=fai ge-aṣ anna*
 beach_surface-DAT go.CNV=SUCC house-DAT come.PRS.PTCP
komme fahar-aku
 every instance-UNSP
 'every time [they] go to the beach and come home' (VN)

Of the various verb forms, only verbal nouns and infinitives may be co-ordinated with the nominal co-ordination particle *ai* 'and' (Section 11.3.2.3). However, even verbal nouns and infinitives may be chained with converbs. If the action of two verbal nouns or infinitives occurs sequentially, clause chaining will be used.

- (13.5) *raṅgaḷ-aṣ visnā murāja'ā kurum-aṣ_fahu*
 good-ADV think.CNV check do.VN-DAT_back
javāb-ek_dēṣ=eve
 answer-INDF_give.IMP=END
 'Answer, after **thinking** carefully **and checking** [your answer].' (HD)

While converb constructions can often be translated as co-ordinations with 'and', the relationship between the converb clause will have various translations depending on context. In some cases, converbs head clauses that serve roles similar to prepositional phrases in English, as discussed in Section 7.1.2.

13.1.1 The successive particles *-fai* and *-geñ*

Often a converb will be marked by either *-fai*¹ or *-geñ*, which Cain and Gair (2000) call *successive particles*. These particles serve to disambiguate the relative timing of the converb and the main verb by making explicit that the action of the converb precedes that of the main verb. The use of successive particles also helps to unambiguously identify converbs, which is very useful to the learner. While converbs may appear without successive particles, successive particles only appear on converbs.² The

1 The particle *-fai* is pronounced as *-fa*, or sometimes *-fā*. It is spelled *-fa* before a vowel-initial suffix.

2 Occasionally *geñ* is the converb of *gannanī* 'take, buy' (in which use it is usually spelled *gane*) rather than the successive particle, and thus forms such as

use of successive-marked converbs with auxiliaries in the creation of the perfect aspect is covered in Section 11.3.1.1. This section considers the use of successive particles in chained clauses, as in the following examples.

- (13.6) *foti_gañḍu kehi=geñ vetṭun=eve*
 cloth_piece slip.off.CNV=**SUCC** fall.PST.3=END
 ‘The piece of cloth slipped off and fell.’ (VN)

- (13.7) *mi=hisāb-aṣ mi=kaṁ gengos=fai sarukāru-n*
 DEM1-point-DAT DEM1-action take.CNV=**SUCC** government-PL
huṭṭā_lī=eve.
 stop.CNV_put.PST.PROG=END
 ‘The government took this matter to this point and stopped.’ (HD)


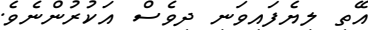
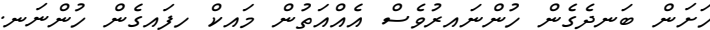
In many contexts the difference between *-geñ* and *-fai* is hard to pin down, but some general guidelines may be stated. As Cain and Gair point out, if the patient of the converb is still with the agent during the action of the main verb, *-geñ* will be used instead of *-fai* (Cain and Gair 2000: 42). In 13.8, for example, the agent picks beans and carrots and brings them back with him. This use of *-geñ* is presumably related to its historical derivation from the verb *gannanī* ‘take, get, buy’.

- (13.8) *adi ahareñ dañḍ-aṣ_vade e-tanu-n kereṭ-āi*
 also 1 field-DAT_enter.CNV DEM3-place-ABL carrot-CONJ
toḷi biñde=gen genes-fānam-ē buññ=eve
 bean pick.CNV=**SUCC** bring.CNV=**POT.1**-QUOT say.PST.3=END
 ‘And [he] said, “I might enter the field and **pick** carrots and beans from there **and bring** [them].”’ (PB)

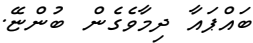
The continued relationship between the action of the main verb and the patient of the converb may be why the habitual aspect use of *uḷeni* ‘lives, exists’, discussed

libi-gen-fai ‘receive-take-SUCC’ are possible. In either case, what precedes the *geñ* is a converb, as is what precedes the *-fai*. Historically, the successive particle *-geñ* is derived from the converb of *gannanī* (Cain and Gair 2000: 43).

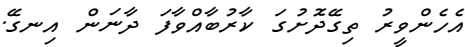
in Section 11.3.1.1, uses **-geñ** - گەن instead of **-fai** - فەي. An action that is habitually performed may be perceived as remaining with the agent. An example is given in 13.9. Conversely, the perfect aspect use of other existential verbs, also discussed in Section 11.3.1.1, usually uses **-fai** - فەي instead of **-geñ** - گەن, as exemplified in 13.10, but will use **-geñ** - گەن in cases where a continued presence of the patient is perceived. Thus in 13.11, the person still had the mike in his hand at the time being spoken of.

- (13.9)  *hasan mā_ginai-n kukuḷu gane-**gen**-eknu ti-uḷenī*
Hassan too_many-ADV chicken buy-**SUCC**-TAG DEM2-live.PRS.CONT
'You [lit. Hassan] have been buying too much chicken, haven't you?' (SC)
- (13.10)  *ēti liye=**fai** vanī dives akuru-nn=eve*
DEM3.thing write.CNV=**SUCC**_be.PRS.FOC Dives Akuru-ABL=END
'It is written in Dives Akuru [the script superseded by Thaana].' (HD)
- (13.11)  *haṣaṇ baṇde=geṇ hunna_iru=ves*
prayer.position build.CNV=**SUCC** be(.standing).PRS.PTCP_time=EMPH
*ek_atu-n maik hifai=**geṇ** hunnanī*
one_hand-ABL mike grasp.CNV=**SUCC** be(.standing).PRS.PROG
'When [he] had crossed his arms [to pray], [he] took the mike in one hand.'
(HD)





Cain and Gair also point out that if the subject of the converb-headed clause is different from the subject of the main clause, **-geñ** will again be used instead of **-fai** (Cain and Gair 2000: 42). Dhivehi is unusual among Indo-Aryan languages, but like Sinhala, in allowing clauses connected with a converb to have different subjects (Masica 1991: 400, Taylor 2006: 417). In technical terms, **-geñ** behaves as a *switch-reference* marker in these constructions. More accurately, perhaps, **-fai** acts as a *same-reference* marker, as **-geñ** does not require a switch-reference interpretation but **-fai** requires a same-reference interpretation. In 13.12, 'father' is the sociative-marked object of the converb clause, but also the subject of the main clause. Because the subjects of the two clauses are different, **-geñ** and not **-fai** is used. Example 13.12 contrasts with 13.13, uttered in the same conversation, in which the subject of 'leave' and the subject of 'go' are the same. This difference in use between **-fai** and **-geñ** helps to make the identity of referents clear in the face of rampant null arguments and little verbal agreement in the language.

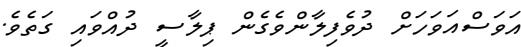
(13.12) 

bappa-ā dimā_ve=gen buññ=ē
father-SOC direction_be.CNV=SUCC say.PST.3=EMPH
 '[I] met **Dad**, and [**he**] told [me].' (SC)

(13.13) 




ehenvīru ti=gē_doṣu-ga kārū_bāvvā=fa dānañ iñgē
 so DEM2=house_near-LOC car_leave.CNV=**SUCC** go.FUT.1 DM
 'So [I] will leave the car at your house and go [from there], OK?' (SC)



The successive particle  **-geñ** has a few other special uses. The semantic relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause in clause chaining is not restricted to simple coordination. In 13.14, for example, the converb  **ve** 'be.CNV' presents an intention that is the motivation for the action of the main verb. An intention converb clause of this type is marked with  **-geñ**.³ (For more on the use of  **vani** 'is, becomes' to introduce intentions, see Section 11.3.2.1.)

(13.14) 

avas~avah-aṣṣ duve_filāñ_ve-gen pilāṣī
 quick~REDUP-ADV run.CNV_hide.INF **be.CNV-SUCC** Pilaasee
duvvai gat=eve
 run.CAUS.CNV take.PST.3=END

'Wanting to quickly run and hide, Pilaasee took off running.' (PB)

In some cases, a converb clause with  **-geñ** is an adverbial. At least some of these, such as the  **āda_ve-geñ** 'often' in 13.15, appear to be lexicalized. Another example is arguably  **guḷi-geñ** 'together' [lit. 'having been joined'], illustrated below in 13.28.

3 At first glance, it may seem that in a sentence like 13.14, the temporal order of the verbs is reversed, in that Pilaasee took off running *before* he hid. However, the  **vani** 'is, becomes' before the  **-geñ** indicates that he *wanted* to run and hide, which occurred before he set off running.

- (13.15) *e kam-akī e de kudiñ āda_ve=geñ*
 DEM3 action-COP DEM3 two children **habit_be.CNV=SUCC**
kurā kam-ek=eve
 do.PRS.PTCP action-INDF=END
 ‘That was something those two children **often** did.’ (VN)

13.1.2 Negation of chained clauses

When the converbs of chained clauses are negated, negative concord is not required, since the converbs are not in finite clauses.

- (13.16) *deñ las_nu=koş taşdıqu_koş devvāş=eve*
 then delay_NEG=do.CNV ratification_do.CNV give.HON.IMP=END
 ‘Then **don’t** delay, ratify [it]!’ (HD)

The negative existential *neti* has a converb, *neti*, which may participate in clause chaining.

- (13.17) *kulli.ak.aş verikaṁ_kurā pāṭi-ge_atu-gai*
 suddenly leadership_do.PRS.PTCP party-GEN_hand-LOC
de_majiliḥu-ge aghulabiyyatu neti=geñ
 two_parliament-GEN majority **NEG.CNV-SUCC**
massala-tak-ek kurimati_ve-jje=eve
 problem-PL-INDF face_be.CNV-PERF.3=END
 ‘Suddenly the ruling party **did not have** the majority in the two parliaments, and [it] has faced problems.’ (HD)

13.2 Clausal complements

Verbs such as *say*, *think*, and *hope* often take clausal complements in English. In other words, what is said, thought, or hoped may be a full clause in English (as in *John said*

that **he was hungry**). In Dhivehi, verbs technically take noun phrases as their complements, not clauses. However, certain nouns may act as *complementizers*. These nouns in turn take participial clauses, which fill the role of the clausal complement.

Which noun is used as a complementizer depends largely on the verb. The most common complementizer is ފަން **kam̃** ‘action’, in various of its case forms. The verbs ބުނަނީ **bunani** ‘says’, ވިދާލުވަނީ **vidālu-vani** ‘says (hlon)’, ޖެހެނީ **ummīdu-kurani** ‘hopes’, ދެކެނީ **visnanī** ‘thinks’, and ފެންނަނީ **dekenī** ‘sees’ take ފަން **kamaṣ** ‘action.DAT’, as in 13.18, or sometimes ފަން **kamugai** ‘action.LOC’.

- (13.18) ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން
 mi=aharu evōḍ libēne **kam-aṣ** varaṣ boḍaṣ ummīdu
 DEM1=year award receive.FUT.PTCP **COMP** very_big-ADV hope
 kuram̃
 do.PRS.1

‘[I/we] very much hope **that** [I/we] will receive the award this year.’ (HD)

The clausal complement may come before or after the subject of the sentence, depending on the intended rhetorical effect. It may also come after the verb, if the verb is in focus form, as in 13.19.⁴

- (13.19) ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން ފަން
 eheñ- namaves hizubu-allah -in bune=fai vanī
 never.- the.less Hezbollah -PL say.CNV=SUCC_be.PRS.FOC
 e=mīhu-n-ge atu-gai gina adad-ek-ge rokeṭ
 DEM3-person.PL-GEN hand-LOC many_amount-INDF-GEN rocket
 eba_huri **kamuga=eve**
 CONT-be(.standing).PST.PTCP **COMP=END**

‘Nevertheless, Hezbollah has said **that** they have a large quantity of rockets.’ (HD)

When two complementizers are called for in a single sentence, and one occurs inside the other’s clause, as in example 13.20 (notice the two *that*’s in the English translation), usually one will be ފަން **kamaṣ** ‘action.DAT’ and the other will be ފަން **kamugai** ‘action.LOC’. If, on the other hand, there are two equal complements (as in ‘said that X and that Y’), usually the same complementizer, most often ފަން **kamaṣ**

⁴ Example 13.19 has extra spaces, separating the morphemes of some of the words. These are indicated by the use of hyphens in addition to the spaces in the Romanization and gloss lines.

‘action.DAT’, will be used for both, with the addition of the co-ordinating particle **-āi** ‘and’ on the first one (see example 13.21). However, mismatched complementizers are sometimes also used.

(13.20) *ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā*
ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā

rājje-iñ mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā
 country.PL DEM=do.PRS.PART work-ABL world-DAT do.PRS.PTCP

faidā kuḍa-vāne kamaṣ deke-vaḍai-nu=gannavā
 benefit small_be.FUT.PTCP **COMP** see.CNV-HHON_NEG=HON

kamugai=ves raīs.ul.jumhūriyyā vidālu.vi=eve
COMP=also president.of.the.republic say.HHON.PST.3=END

‘The President also said **that** he doesn’t see **that** the benefit to the world of the work the country is doing will be small.’ (HD)

(13.21) *ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā*
ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā

e=ī varaṣ-boḍu koṇṭrekt-ek kamaṣ=āi ē-gai 250
 DEM3=COP very_big contract-INDF **COMP=CONJ** DEM3-LOC 250

milian ḍolaru himenē kamaṣ vidālu.vi=eve
 million dollar be.included.PRS.PTCP **COMP** say.HHON.PST.3=END

‘[The president] said **that** it is a very big contract **and that** 250 million dollars are included in it.’ (HD)

As 13.21 also demonstrates, there is no constraint against the occurrence of the copula inside a clausal complement, as it is not a finite verb.

The verb *ṣarṣar* **eñgeni** ‘knows’ takes direct-case *ṣarṣar* **kam** ‘action’ as a complementizer. The subject of *ṣarṣar* **eñgeni** will be in the dative case (though see Section 12.4.5 for a discussion of whether such a noun phrase is actually a subject), while the verbs that take *ṣarṣar* **kamaṣ** ‘action.DAT’ or *ṣarṣar* **kamugai** ‘action.LOC’ have direct-case subjects in their active forms. Example 13.22 is an example with a dative subject and a direct-case complementizer.

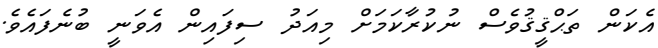
(13.22) *ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā*
ṣarṣar-āi mi=kurā masakkatu-ñ duniye-aṣ kurā

pilāsi-ak-aṣ e=ī koñ_kahala
Pilaasee-UNSP-DAT DEM3=COP which_kind

gah-ek kam-ek n=ē[ñ]gun=eve
 plant-INDF **COMP-INDF** NEG=know.PST.3=END

‘Pilaasee didn’t know what kind of plant it was.’ (PB)

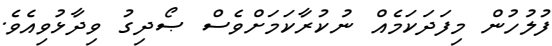
Example 13.22 also illustrates the fact that when the finite verb is negated, the complementizer (as a noun and the head of the complement) takes negative concord. The dative subject usually also takes negative concord. If the negation is inside the complement clause, however, the nonfinite verb does not require negative concord, as in 13.23. It is important to note, however, that nouns in the scope of negation are often semantically indefinite, and will therefore often be in the indefinite (or unspecified) form in such contexts anyway, as in 13.24. True negative concord, by contrast, also occurs on proper names, pronouns, adjectives, and subordinate verb forms, none of which otherwise take indefinite inflection.

(13.23) 

e=kaṁ taḥqīqu=ves nu=kurā kamaṣ miadu
DEM3=action investigation=EMPH **NEG=do.PRS.PTCP_COMP** today

sifai-n e=vanī bune=fa=eve
military-PL DEM3=be.PRS.FOC say.CNV=SUCC=END



‘The military have said today that [they] are **not** even investigating that matter.’ (HD)

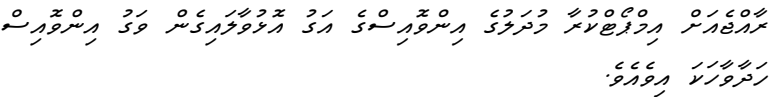
(13.24) 

fuluhu-n mi=fada kam-ek
police-PL DEM1=manner_action-**INDF**

nu=kurā kamaṣ=veṣ ṣōdigu vidālu.vi=eve
NEG=do.PRS.PTCP_COMP=EMPH Soadiq say.HHON.PST.3=END



‘Soadiq also said that the police do **not** do such things.’ (HD)

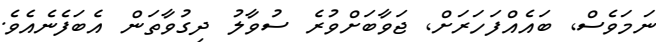
The noun  **vāhaka** ‘speech’ may also serve as a complementizer. Although variously translated as ‘speech’ or ‘story’,  **vāhaka** basically means something that is said or a piece of discourse. Thus it is used with verbs of speech and the hearing of speech.

(13.25) 

rājje-aṣṣ impōt_kurā mudalu-ge inṣois-ge agu
 country-DAT import_do.PRS.PTCP goods.GEN invoice-GEN price
oḷuvā lai=geṇṇ vāgu iṇṣois hadā vāhaka
 confuse.CNV_put.CNV=SUCC false invoice make.PRS.PTCP_COMP
ive=eve
 is.heard.PRS.3=END

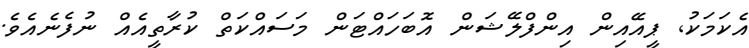
‘[It] is heard **that** the invoice prices of goods being imported to the Maldives are disguised and false invoices are made.’ (HD)

The noun  **tan** ‘place’ may also serve as a complementizer, when the verb is one of appearing or seeing, as in 13.26. The particle  **-ti**, which usually marks a reason (see Section 13.4.3), may serve as a complementizer in the same contexts in literary style, as in 13.27.

(13.26) 



namaves, baek.fahar-aṣṣ, javāb-aṣṣ=vure suvālu
 however sometimes-ADV answer-DAT=compared.to question
diḡu vā tan eba=fene=eve
 long_be.PRS.PTCP_COMP CONT=appear.PRS.3=END

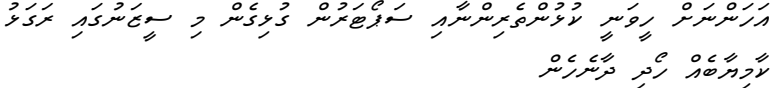
‘However, sometimes it seems **that** the question is longer than the answer.’ (HD)

(13.27) 

ekamaku, pī.ē-iṇ inflēshaṇ obahaṭṭaṇ masakkat
 but PA-PL inflation control.INF work
kurā=ti-ek nu=fene=eve
 do.PRS.PTCP=COMP_NEGC NEG=appear.PRS.3=end

‘But it doesn’t seem **that** the PA [People’s Alliance] is trying to control inflation.’

The verb  **hivani** ‘thinks’ takes the particle  **-hen** ‘as if, in the manner’ as a complementizer.

(13.28) 

ahann-aş hīva-nī kuḷumteri-nn-āi sapōtaru-n

1-DAT think.PRES-FOC player-PL-SOC supporter-PL

guḷi=geñ mi sīzanu-gai ra[n̄]gaḷu kāmiyāb-eḳ

join.CNV=SUCC DEM1 season-LOC good success-INDF

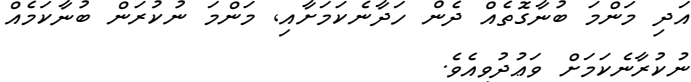
hōdi

dāne=heñ

achieve.PRS.PTCP go.FUT.PTCP=**COMP**

‘I think **that** the players and supporters together can achieve a good success this season’ (HD)

The tense of participial complement clauses does not shift to match the tense of the finite clause. In other words, the tense will be the one appropriate at the time of the experience, unlike in English, where a shift backward occurs in sentences in which the finite clause verb is in the past tense, as in *Martha said she **would** come* or *Jack thought he **was** in danger*. Thus in 13.29 the participles that the complementizers introduce are in the future tense, calibrated to the time of the promise, and the other participles are in the present tense, calibrated to the time when Mother says it.

(13.29) 

adi mamma bunā got-eḳ den̄

also mother **say.PRS.PTCP**_way-INDF then

hadāne_kamaş=āi, mamma nu=kurañ

make.FUT.PTCP_COMP=CONJ mother NEG=do.INF

bunā kam-eḳ nu=kurāne_kamaş


say.PRS.PTCP_action-INDF **NEG=do.FUT.PTCP**_COMP

va‘udu_vi=eve

promise_be.PST.3=END

‘And [he] promised that [he] would do [lit ‘make’] what Mother said and would not do what Mother said not to do.’ (PB)

13.2.1 Embedded questions

Clausal complements that express an element of doubt or indirectly ask a question use the complementizer particle  -**tō**. This particle is homophonous with the honorific question particle but is not itself honorific in its usage. Unlike most other clausal

complements, complement clauses with tō may contain finite verbs as predicators. This is illustrated in 13.30, in which the verb vanī ‘is, becomes’ occurs in its third-person present form. As illustrated by 13.31 through 13.33, translation into English of embedded clauses headed by tō often requires the addition of something like ‘to see’ or ‘in order to find out’, which is implied in Dhivehi by the tō . Further examples of the use of tō are in 13.34 and 13.35.

(13.30) $\text{cel̥sī mecu-ŋ moļu_vē=tō varaṣ masakkat}$

Chelsea match-ABL excellent_be.PRS.3=**QCOMP** very work
kurānaṁ
 do.FUT.1

‘[We] will try very hard to win the Chelsea match.’ (HD)

(13.31) $\text{adi salāmat_vāne evveṣ got-ek ot=tō}$

also safety_be.FUT.PTCP any way-INDF be(.lying).PST.3=**QCOMP**
hōdāñ_fet̥ti=eve
 seek.INF_begin.PST.3=END

‘And [he] began to search [to see] **if** there was any way to escape.’ (PB)

(13.32) $\text{timā qaum-aṣ koṣ_dēnī koñ_kam-ek=tō}$

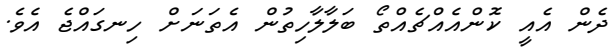
one nation-DAT do.CNV_give.FUT.FOC which_action-INDF=**QCOMP**
balāṣ=eve
 look.IMP=END

‘Look [to see] **what** you yourself will do for [your] country!’ (HD)

(13.33) $\text{aḷugañḍu-men̥ mi=balanī vīhā.ves}$

1-PL DEM1=look.PRS.FOC as.much.as.possible
kuḍa_kurevē=tō
 small_be.done.PRS.3=**QCOMP**

‘We are looking [to see] **if** [it] is being reduced as much as possible.’ (HD)

(13.34) 

deñ e=ī koñ_ecc-ek=tō

then DEM3=COP which_thing-INDF=**QCOMP**

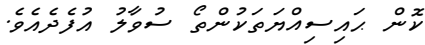
balā_lā_hitu-ñ e=tan-aṣ hiṅga-jje

look.CNV_put.PRS.PTCP_heart-ABL DEM3=place-DAT walk.CNV-PRF

eve

END

‘Then, wanting to see **what** it was, [he] walked over there.’ (PB)

(13.35) 

koñ ḥaisiyyat-ak-un=tō suvālu ufede=eve




which means-UNSP-ABL=**QCOMP** question is.created.PRS.3=END

‘The question arises, by **what** means?’ (HD)

13.3 Quotes

English contrasts the quotation of direct speech with indirect or reported speech. Direct speech is presented with the same syntax as it was originally spoken with, such as in the *I am hungry* in *John said, “I am hungry.”* Indirect speech adjusts the syntax of the utterance to the context in which it is reported, as in the *he was hungry* in *John said he was hungry*. Dhivehi, by contrast, has three or four levels of presenting what someone has said.

The least direct way of reporting what has been said is by the use of clausal complements, as presented in Section 13.2 and illustrated in examples such as 13.19 and 13.24. These clausal complements do not have finite verbs (and therefore have no person marking) and are embedded inside a phrase headed by a complementizer as other clausal complements are.

The other strategies for reporting speech largely maintain the syntax of the original utterance. The quotative marker -ē marks a more or less direct quote of something the speaker is relatively certain of and/or has personal experience of. Thus it combines the function of a quotative marker and an evidential marker, both marking an utterance as quoted speech and indicating what speaker’s evidence for the quote is—in this case, personal experience. Repeating one’s self, such as when one repeats a command or instruction, also calls for -ē (as also discussed in Section 8.3.4.1). Quotes with -ē may be considered *repetitions* of something that has been said. However, exact quotation or repetition is not required. Although the person agreement (and the tense or imperative mood, as the case may be) of the original utterance is retained in a quotation the pronoun identity is not always. If the original utterance contained a first-person

pronoun, this may be replaced with the logophoric pronoun **timanna** (or its plural **timannameñ**), for more on which see Section 6.2.3.⁵

The following examples illustrate the use of the direct quotative marker **-ē**. Example 13.36 uses no subject pronoun in the quote, 13.37 uses the logophoric pronoun, and 13.38 uses the regular first-person pronoun.

(13.36) *ehen.vī.ma deñ varaş majā_kam-ak-aş vāne=tī*

therefore then very fun_action-UNSP-DAT be.FUT.PTCP=RSN

bune-fim āñ tī-ga dānam=ē

say.CNV-PRF.1 yes DEM2-LOC go.FUT.1=QUOT

‘So then, because it would be a lot of fun, I said, “Yes, [I] will go there.”’
(SC)

(13.37) *timanna biru_ganna ek-aku=ves net=ē*

LOG fear_take.PRS.PTCP one-UNSP=EMPH NEG=QUOT

bunī eḍolf hiṭlar=eve

say.PST.FOC Adolf Hitler=END

‘“There is no one that I fear,” said Adolf Hitler’ (HD)

(13.38) *aishā bunī ahareñ annānam=ē*

Aisha say.PST.FOC 1 come.FUT.1=QUOT

‘Aisha said, “I will come”.’ (FW1)

The quotative marker **-ō** marks a quote that the speaker is less certain of or that the speaker feels somewhat more distant from. It may be hearsay, for example. Such quotes may be considered *reports* of something that has been said rather than direct repetitions. In many of its uses the particle **-ō**, like **-ē**, functions as both a quotative marker and an evidential marker, with the evidential weight in the case of **-ō** being that the speaker’s evidence for the quote is not direct. However, the reporting of hearsay is not the only function of **-ō**. Sometimes **-ē** and **-ō** are used together

⁵ Lum (n.d.) reports that as an alternative to the logophoric pronoun, a third-person pronoun may be used while maintaining the first person of the verb, giving Dhivehi ‘biperspective’ speech in the terminology of Evans (2012). My own fieldwork data is equivocal on this point, pointing to possible inter-speaker differences. More work is needed on this topic.

in quoting a conversation, $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{e}}$ for when the speaker quotes him- or herself, and $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{o}}$ for when the speaker quotes the other person. In other contexts, the $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{o}}$ may be used to introduce a quotation within a quotation. The generalization to be made is that $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{o}}$ marks a quote that is farther removed from the present speaker or from the present utterance than $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{e}}$ does. The following examples illustrate the use of the distancing quotative marker $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{o}}$. In 13.40 the $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{o}}$ is used because it is embedded within a quote (set off with quotation marks in this example rather than with $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{e}}$).

- (13.39) $\text{āli} \text{ bunī} \text{ vahīdu_kairī-gai} \text{ aishā} \text{ annāne=yo}$
 Ali say.PST.FOC Waheed_near-LOC Aisha come.FUT.3=QUOT
 ‘Ali said to Waheed, “[They say] Aisha will come”.’ (FW1)

- (13.40) $\text{mamma} \text{ bunī} \text{ annāṣ-ō} \text{ fā.roṣi} \text{ kāñ}$
 mother say.PST.FOC come.IMP-QUOT toast.biscuit eat.INF
 “‘Mother said, ‘Come eat the toast biscuits.’” (HV)


A further marker, $\text{ā}-\bar{\text{ōla}}$, is sometimes used to mean that the speaker has heard something said but does not agree with it.

- (13.41) $\text{yāminu} \text{ nūnī} \text{ emmeñ=ves} \text{ korapṭ=ōla=eve}$
 Yameen except everyone=EMPH corrupt=QUOT=END
 ‘Everyone except Yameen is corrupt (they say).’ (HD)

The use of a quotative marker triggers the form of the imperative that ends in a long vowel plus $\text{r} \text{ ṣ}$, as in 13.42, and as also described in Section 8.3.4.1 and Section 12.9.

- (13.42) $\text{e=mīhu-ñ} \text{ bune=fa_eba_iñ}$
 DEM3=person.PL say.CNV=SUCCE_CONT_be(.sitting).PST.3
 $\text{kulēn_bēnum-īyyā} \text{ komme_re-aku=ves} \text{ annāṣ=ē}$
 play.INF_want-COND any_night-UNSP=EMPH come.IMP=QUOT
 ‘They have said, “If [you] want to play, **come** any evening.”’ (SC)

As 13.43 shows, in speech the verb is not necessarily the constituent that receives the quotative marker, although it often is.

- (13.43) 
deṇ e=mīhu-n bune-fi komme mīh-ak-aṣ anek
 then DEM3=person.PL say.CNV-PRF every person-UNSP-DAT DM
haṭ ruḏiyā ē bēnumṯ-vānī
 seven ruḏiyaa **QUOT** need_be.FUT.PROG
 ‘Then they said, “Every person will need, like, seven ruḏiyaa.”’ (SC)

The emphatic marker $\text{ʔ} - \text{ē}$ is homophonous with the direct quotative marker, a potential source of confusion.


- (13.44) *guḷa=ves nu=levi=geñn=ē mi=uḷenī*
 call.CNV=EMPH NEG=be.put.CNV=SUCCEMPH DEM1=live.PRS.PROG
 ‘[I] haven’t **even** been managing to call.’ (SC)

Quotation marks may be used in writing instead of a quotative marker, in which case a period rather than a comma will often set off the quotation from the description of who said it. In these cases the first-person pronoun will generally be quoted as such rather than with the logophoric pronoun, as in 13.45. Sometimes quotation marks and quotative particles are both used, but this is prescriptively considered overkill. Sentences inside quotation marks do not use the written sentence-ending particle *ḥe* **-eve**. News reports often include very long quotes with quotation marks; 13.45 is a relatively short example.

- (13.45) *“anīyā_ve=geñ nu=kuļevē kuļum.teri-nn-eķ neŋ.*
injury_be.CNV=SUC NEG=be.played.PRS.PTCP athlete.PL-INDF NEG
ahareñ bēnumŋ_vā_fada ra[n̥]gaļu ūm-eķ mādāmā-ge
1 need_be.PRS.PTCP_like good team-INDF tomorrow-GEN
mec-aš nerevēne.” māccē buññ=eve
match-DAT be.put.out.FUT.3 Maachchey say.PST.3=END
“‘No players are injured and can’t play. [I] will be able to put out a good
team like I need for tomorrow’s match.’ Maachchey said.’ (HD)

The quotative markers ᲛᲠ - ē and ᲛᲡ - ō do not co-occur on a word with the written sentence-ending particle ᲛᲡᲠ -**eve**. In writing, sometimes the quotative marker is used without ᲛᲡᲠ -**eve**, and sometimes the quotative marker is replaced with the sentence-ending particle ᲛᲡᲠ -**eve**, leaving the fact that it is a quotation to be inferred, as in 13.46.

The particle ḥ^{e} -**ōla** is different from the other quotative markers in this respect, in that it can co-occur with ḥ^{e} -**eve**, as shown in 13.41.

- (13.46)  *faruhiyyā bune_la=eve. kōkkō=eve.*
Faruhiyyaa say.CNV_put.PRS.3=END younger.sibling.VOC=**END**
'Faruhiyyaa says. "Little Brother."' (VN)

A further way of setting off quotations is to follow them with *mi-heñ* 'like this', as in 13.47. This may be in addition to a preceding focus verb that introduces the quotation. This strategy tends to be used for quotations in cases where the exact wording matters, as in quoting the law, but it may also be encountered in narratives and other contexts. Its use is somewhat analogous to the use of *quote* to introduce exact wording in spoken English.

- (13.47) *mi=pōštāru-taku-gai liye=fai_vā*
 DEM1=poster-PL-LOC write.CNV=SUCCESS.be.PR.S.PTCP
kepshan-taku-gai vanī haṅgurānai-ge mujurimu
 caption-PL-LOC.be.PR.S.FOC war-GEN criminal
ge-aš_dē mi=henn=eve
 house-DAT.go.IMP DEM1.manner=END
- ‘In the captions that were written on these posters was, **quote**, “war criminal.”’ (HD)

13.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that provide further information about the time, manner, condition, or reason of the action or state presented in the main clause. This section contains a sampling of such constructions in Dhivehi. The verbs in Dhivehi adverbial clauses are generally speaking participles—marked for tense but not for person—but nonverbal clauses (introduced in Section 12.1) may also be used as adverbials. In many cases an adverbial clause may be created either with a suffixing particle attached to the participle or with a noun which the participial clause modifies.

13.4.1 Conditionals and concessives

Conditional clauses, introduced by *if* in English, are marked with the suffixing particle -(i)yyā or followed by nama ‘if’ in Dhivehi. If the adverbial clause contains a verb, that verb will be a participle. However, conditional clauses may also be nonverbal (as in 13.50). The conditional word nama ‘if’ may also follow syntactic units that are not clauses, while the suffix -(i)yyā specifically attaches to clause-final predicators (and thus to clauses).

As mentioned in Section 9.1.9.4, the difference in meaning between -(i)yyā and nama ‘if’ is subtle, with nama ‘if’ perhaps being more hypothetical.

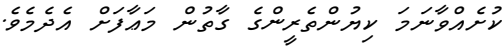
Things that have not happened, but which would have consequences if they were to happen, use perfect participles in the conditional clause.

- (13.48) $\text{majilihu-ge aghulabiyyatu sarukār-aṣṣ libi-jje_nama}$
 parliament-GEN majority government-DAT receive.CNV-PRF_if
 $\text{kaṁ-taḱ~taḱ varaṣṣ gōs_vāne=eve}$
 deed-PL~REDUP very bad_be.FUT.3=END
 ‘If the government were to get a majority in the parliament, things would be very bad.’ (HD)

- (13.49) $\text{bis nagai-fi=yyā kudi vela-eḱ}$
 egg take.CNV-PRF=COND small.PL sea.turtle-INDF
 nu=ufedēne=eve
 NEG=be.formed.FUT.3=END
 ‘If [you] take the eggs, the little sea turtles will not develop.’ (EA)

The present participle, or a nonverbal clause, indicates a general or ongoing condition.



- (13.50) $\text{mas.veri.kaṁ raṅga!=iyyā tiyāgi_ve=eve}$
 fishery good=COND prosperous_be.PRS.3=END
 ‘If the fishing is good, there is prosperity.’ (HD)

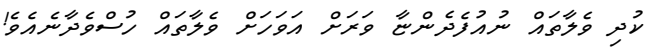
(13.51) 

kuṣ-ek_vā_nama *kiyumuṁterī-ñ-ge* *gātu-ñ*
 error-INDF_be.PRS.PTCP_if reader-PL-GEN vicinity-ABL

ma'āf-aṣ *edem=eve*
 forgiveness-DAT ask.PRS.1=END

'If there are errors [in what I have written], [I] ask the readers' forgiveness.'
 (HD)

The -**ñā** allomorph of -(i)**yyā** appears to attach to infinitives. Given that all the other verbs that take the conditional suffix are participles, this may well be the present progressive “long” participle, with the vowel being lost and the consonant becoming palatalized, in a process reminiscent of the gemination and palatization process described in Section 3.6.4. This conditional form indicates a continuing condition, as illustrated in 13.52. Example 13.52 also shows that, as with other nonfinite clauses, negative concord is not used inside conditional clauses.

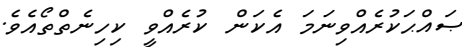
(13.52) 

kuḍi *velā-tak* *nu=ufeden=ñā* *varaṣ* *avahaṣ*
 small.PL sea.turtle.PL NEG=be.formed.PROG=COND very soon

velā-tak *huṣ_ve-dāne=eve*
 sea.turtles empty_be.CNV-POT=END

'If the little sea turtles **don't** develop, very soon there may be no more sea turtles!' (EA)

The use of a past participle puts the condition in the past, as in 13.53. Often it indicates that if things had been different in the past, the outcome would have been different, as in 13.54. Such conditionals use an irrealis verb in the main clause.

(13.53) 

saḥḥa_kurevvi_nama *e=kaṁ* *kurevvi*
 valid_do.HON.PST.PTCP_if DEM3=action do.HON.PST.3

kihineṭ=to=eve
 how=Q.HON=END

'If [they] validated [the voter list], how did [they] do that?' (HD)

- (13.54) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} \\ \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} \\ \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} & \text{ر} & \text{ا} \end{array}$

e=faharu *e=ittihādu-n* *eḳ_kendidēt*

DEM3=instance DEM3=alliance-ABL one candidate

nerevunu_nama furatama_buru-ń kāmīyābu_vīh=eve

be.put.out.PST.PTCP **if** first round-ABL successful **be.IRR=END**

'If one candidate had been put forth from that alliance at that time, [he/she] **would have** won in the first round.' (HD)

A number of short, possibly lexicalized, conditionals such as **ehen-nama** 'if so [lit. if like that]' and **nūn-nama** 'if not' begin sentences and serve to connect them to the previous discourse. The expression **irāda-kurevviyyā** means 'God willing', as in 13.55, but the Arabic phrase **inshā allāh** 'God willing' is also often used.

- [illegible]

irāda_kurevvi=yyā *mādamā* *e* *ripōt-tak^o*

purpose_be.done.HON.PRS.PTCP=COND tomorrow DEM3 report-PL

huṣa.alānam̐

put.forward.FUT.3

‘God willing, [I] will file those reports tomorrow.’ (HD)

Concessive adverbial clauses, which are introduced by *although*, *even if*, or *despite* in English, are marked with the suffix $\text{ـ} \text{اﺳ}$ *-as* (which has the allomorph $\text{ـ} \text{ﺍﺳ}$ *-yas*) or are followed by ﺑﺎﻣﺎﻭﻩ *namaves* ‘although’. The suffix $\text{ـ} \text{اﺳ}$ *-as* attaches to past participles, as in 13.56, or to nonverbal sentence-final predicators, as in 13.57. Example 13.57 also illustrates the lack of negative concord in concessive clauses, as they are nonfinite.⁶

- (13.56) $\frac{1}{r} \frac{\partial}{\partial r} \left(r \frac{\partial u}{\partial r} \right) + \frac{1}{r^2} \frac{\partial}{\partial \theta} \left(\sin \theta \frac{\partial u}{\partial \theta} \right) = 0$

asaru *nu=kurāne=ē* *buññ=as* *kurāne=eve*

effect NEG=do.FUT.PTCP=QUOT say.PST.PTCP=**CNCS** do.FUT.3=END

‘Although [they] say [it] won’t have an effect, [it] will.’ (HD)

6 Example 13.57 contains the nonstandard dialect word **mede**, which is **medu** in the standard dialect. It is a postposition derived from the noun meaning ‘middle’, but is used with an object in the sociative case to mean ‘regarding’ or ‘about’.

- (13.57) *ēnā e-hā zuvāñ nūn-as kuḷum-āi mede varaṣ*
 3 DEM3-amount young NEG=CNCS play.VN-SOC middle very
hiḥ.hama.jehē.
 be.satisfied.PRS.3

‘**Although** he is not so young, [I] am very satisfied with his playing.’ (HD)

If there are two consecutive predicators marked with *-as*, it means ‘whether... or ...’.

- (13.58) *raīs nashīdu gabūlu_kuri=yas*
 President Nasheed approve-**do.PST.PTCP=CNCS**
nu=kuri=yas rājje-gai baṇḍāra.naib-aku
NEG=do.PST.PTCP=CNCS country-LOC attorney.general-UNSP
hunnāne=eve
 be(.standing).FUT.3=END
- ‘**Whether** President Nasheed approves it **or** not, there will be an attorney general in the country.’ (HD)

The concessive word *namaves* ‘although’ follows participial clauses in any tense, as in 13.59 and 13.60, but (like *nama* ‘if’) it may also follow condensed, non-clausal phrases, as in 13.61. The concessive suffixing particle *-as*, by contrast, specifically attaches to predicators. It is not clear whether there is a difference in meaning between *-as* and *namaves* ‘although’.

- (13.59) *mi=mecu-n bali_vi_namaves e=ī*
 DEM1=match-ABL weak_be.PST.PTCP_although DEM3=COP
massala-ek nūn
 problem-INDF NEG
- ‘**Although** [we] were defeated in this match, it’s not a problem.’ (HD)

- (13.60) $\text{أَنتِ} \quad \text{مِنْ} \quad \text{بَنَاتِ} \quad \text{عَرَبٍ} \quad \text{وَأَنْتِ} \quad \text{مِن} \quad \text{بَنَاتِ} \quad \text{إِسْرَائِيلَ}$

<i>adi</i>	<i>miadu-ge</i>	<i>mec</i>	<i>eĕ_varu</i>	<i>ve-jje_kamaš</i>
also	today-GEN	match	one_amount	be.CNV-PRF_COMP
<i>vā_namaves</i>		<i>rājje</i>	<i>semī-aš</i>	<i>dāne=eve</i>
be.PRS.PTCP_although		country	semi-DAT	go.FUT.3=END

'And **although** it is the case that today's match was a draw, the Maldives will go to the semi-[final].' (HD)

- (13.61) $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix} = \frac{1}{2} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & -1 \end{pmatrix} = \frac{1}{2} \begin{pmatrix} 2 & 0 \\ 0 & 2 \end{pmatrix} = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 0 \\ 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$

e=kaṁ hīt-āi_dekol-aṣ_ **namaves** jehēnī
DEM3=action heart-SOC_against.ADV_ **although** be.struck.FUT.FOC
qabūlu kurāṣ=eve
approve do.INF=END

‘[They] will need to approve it, **even if** against [their] wishes.’ (HD)

As with conditionals, there are a number of short, probably lexicalized concessives such as *هه‌ئێهه‌* **ehen-namaves** ‘nevertheless [lit. although like that]’ and its synonym, *هه‌ئێهه‌* **ehenas** that begin sentences and serve to connect them to the previous discourse. *هه‌ئێهه‌* **namaves** ‘although’ itself can begin a sentence, imposing the concessive on the previous sentence and meaning ‘however’ or ‘but’.

- (13.62) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{ر} & \text{ز} & \text{س} & \text{د} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \\ \text{ر} & \text{ز} & \text{س} & \text{د} & \text{و} & \text{و} & \text{و} \end{array}$

ehen.namaves *siyāsī* *massala-ek* *e=ī*
nevertheless political problem-INDF DEM3=COP

‘Nevertheless, that is a political problem.’ (HD)

- (13.63) $\text{سَرْدَوَسُو} \quad \text{دَر} \quad \text{سَوَرْمَرْمَر} \quad \text{خُورِ} \quad \text{لَاوَلَو}$

namaves *mi=ī* *sirru_failu-tak-ek̊=eve*
however DEM1=COP secret file-PL-INDF=END

‘However, these are secret files.’ (HD)

13.4.2 Clauses of relative timing

13.4.2.1 Concurrent timing

To indicate that the activity in a subordinate clause occurred at the same time as that of the main clause, Dhivehi may use participles marked with muṇ or -koṣ .

described in Section 8.3.5. Likewise, the adverb **den** ‘then’ is also occasionally used to mean ‘while’ and may take a participial clause. The timing particle **-mā** marks a less precise co-occurrence: it may be a state immediately preceding that of the main clause, for example. One may also express timing with noun phrases headed by **iru** ‘time’ or **hiñdu** ‘moment’, which are modified by a participial or predicate-adjective clause.

The particle **-muñ** may be analyzed as attaching to either the present stem or to the present participle with a shortened vowel. The latter analysis yields the result that all the simultaneous particles attach to participles. Verbs marked with **-muñ** are often used with verbs of motion to create a durative aspect, as described in Section 11.3.1.2 and also exemplified below in 13.66. However, **-muñ** may also be used simply to mark simultaneity. In such uses, it is often the case that the participle marked with **-muñ** and the main verb actually describe different aspects of the same event, as in 13.64, when the speaking and the explaining refer to the same speech act. The simultaneous marker helps to make that clear.

(13.64) *ḥeyo_bas māna_koṣ_de=muñ*

good_word meaning_do.CNV_give.PRS.PTCP=**SML**

bune=fai_vanī e=ī tedu_bunuñ kamuḡa=eve
say.CNV=SUCCE_be.PRS.FOC DEM3=COP true_say.VN COMP=END

‘In explaining the meaning of “good words,” [he] said that it is speaking the truth.’ (HD)

The **-koṣ** particle is added to the present progressive form of the verb (again with a shortened vowel). This emphasizes that the activity was in progress at the time the action of the main clause occurred, translatable in English as ‘while’. An example is given in 13.65.

(13.65) *e-kudiñ konnani=koṣ velā_bis-tak-eḡ*

DEM3-children dig.PRS.PROG=**SML** sea.turtle_egg-PL-INDF

feni-jje=eve
appear.CNV-PRF.3=END

‘**While** the children were digging, [they] saw some sea turtle eggs.’ (EA)

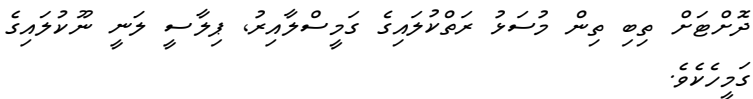
Occasionally the adverb **den** ‘then’ is used with a present participle to describe simultaneous activity. More commonly, however, **den** ‘then’ is used with an infinitive to mean ‘until’, as discussed in Section 13.4.2.3.

- (13.66) *etāk hās bidēsi-n rājje-gai etāk ahar-ek*
 numerous_thousand foreign-PL country-LOC numerous_year-INDF
vā dēñ diri.uḷe=muñ gendā=tī
 be.PRS.PTCP_then live.PRS.PTCP=SML_take.PRS.PTCP=RSN
 ‘because many thousands of foreigners have gone on living in the country
 for many years [lit. **while** many years happen]’ (HD)

The temporal particle *-mā* (sometimes spelled *-mai*) has a looser temporal range than the strictly simultaneous *-muñ* and *-koṣ*. It attaches to the past progressive “long” participle and may translate as ‘when’, or even ‘once’, or ‘as’, or ‘upon’. The main clause action often immediately follows the subordinate clause action. While a cause and effect relationship between the two clauses is not required, it is often implied, as in 13.67. The particle *-mā* is often used in the lexicalized discourse connective *ehenvimā* ‘therefore [lit. as it is so]’.


- (13.67) *deñ ha satēka aṣ.ḍiha qaidī-nn-aṣ ‘afū ‘āmmu*
 then six_hundred_eighty prisoner-PL-DAT pardon_general
dinī=mā vānī kihineḱ=hey=yēve
 give.PST.PROG=**TMP** be.FUT.FOC how=Q=END
 ‘Then **when** six hundred eighty prisoners are given amnesty, what will
 happen?’ (HD)

Just as nouns are used to head complement clauses (Section 13.2), nouns may be used to head temporal adverbial clauses. The nouns *iru* ‘time’ and *hiñdu* ‘moment’ are used for this purpose, as in the following examples. As 13.68 and 13.69 show, the timing implied may be a simultaneous ‘while’ (as in 13.68) or an immediately sequential ‘when’ (as in 13.69).

(13.68) 

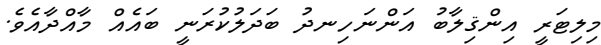
doṣṭ-aṣ tibi tiñ musaḷu raṭ_kulai-ge
 older-DAT be.PL.PST.PTCP three rabbit red_color-GEN
gamīs_lā iru pilāsī lanī nū_kulai-ge
 shirt_put.PRS.PTCP_time Pilaasee put.PRS.FOC blue_color-GEN
gamīh-ek=eve
 shirt-INDF=END

‘While the three older rabbits wear red shirts, Pilaasee wears a blue shirt.’
 (PB)

(13.69) 

ehen.ve e=gas ufurā balā li iru
 therefore DEM3=plant pull.up.CNV look.CNV_put.PST.PTCP_time
mi=ī fiyā gas-tak-ek=eve
 DEM1=COP onion plant-PL-INDF=END



‘When he therefore pulled up those plants and tried [them], they were onions.’ (PB)

(13.70) 

militārī inqilābu anna hiñdu badalu_kuranī
 military revolution come.PRS.PTCP_moment change_do.PRS.FOC
baek mādaddā=eve
 some article=END

‘When military revolution comes, some articles [of the constitution] change.’ (HD)

13.4.2.2 Subsequent timing

To position the action of the main clause after the action of the subordinate clause, clause chaining with converbs marked with successive particles is usually used, as described in Section 13.1.1. However, the fact that main clause action is subsequent to the subordinate clause action can also be explicitly marked with the noun  **fahuṇ** ‘after, behind [lit. back.ABL]’.  **fahuṇ** may also be used as a postposition taking a dative or genitive noun phrase object, which may be a verbal noun phrase—see Section 7.1.1).

(13.71) *em̄buri aī aṇdiri jehunu_fahunn=eve*

turn.CNV come.PST.FOC darkness is.struck.PST.PTCP_**after=END

‘[He] came back **after** darkness fell.’ (HD)

A clause describing a state or action that marks the beginning of the state or action in the main clause will take the suffixing particle *-ssure* or *-tā*, which lend a meaning of ‘since’. However, *-ssure* may mark things that are not clausal as well, such as *e-duvahu-ssure* ‘since that day’. When it does mark a clause, *-ssure* attaches to a “long form,” or progressive, past participle, as in 13.72. The particle *-tā* attaches to regular participles, as in 13.73.

(13.72) *duniye feṣunī=ssure shaitānā-ge baiveri-ṇ*
ādamu-ge_dariṇ magu_furedd-um-aṣ eki_kahala
masakkaṭ kure=eve

world begin.PST.PROG=**since** Satan-GEN partner-PL
 Adam-GEN_children path_stray.CAUS-VN-DAT various_kind
 work do.PRS.3=END

‘**Since** the world began, Satan’s partners have been doing various kinds of work to cause Adam’s children to stray.’ (HD)

(13.73) *qānūnu.asāsī taṣḍīqu_kurevunu=tā ek_aharu*

constitution ratification_is.done.PST.PTCP=**since** one_year
 furenī=eve
 is.filled.PRS.PROG=END

‘A year has gone by **since** the constitution was ratified.’ (HD)

13.4.2.3 Prior timing

To position the action of the main clause prior to some other action, a postpositional phrase with *kurin* ‘before [lit. front.ABL]’ or *kurigai* ‘before [lit. front.LOC]’ is usually used. A clause may serve as the object of the postposition via its verbal noun form, as in 13.74. However, a subordinate clause with the subjunctive verb form dubbed “prospective irrealis” in Section 8.3.4.4 can also be used, as in 13.75. This verb form is obligatorily negative.

(13.74) ފުރަތަމަ ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި

furatama hāf nimumu-ge kuriñ e=mīhu-ñ_vanī
first half end.VN-GEN **before** DEM3=person-PL_be.PRS.FOC

tiñ lañdu jahā=fa=eve
three goal strike.CNV=SUC=END

‘They scored three goals **before** the end of the first half.’ (HD)

(13.75) ވަރިކާމު ލިބުނު ތަނ ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު ހަނދު

verikañ libunu=tā aharu=ves
leadership receive.PST.PTCP=since year=EMPH

nu=vanīs *i[ñ]gīrēsī-nn-ā hañgurāma_kuri=eve*
NEG=be.PRS.PROG.IRR English-PL-SOC war_do.PST.3=END

‘[Napoleon] went to war with the English **before** even a year had gone by since [he] took power.’ (HD)

A clause that states the state or action that occurs at the end of the state or action of the main verb—of the type marked in English with *until*—is marked in Dhivehi with an infinitive followed by the grammatical function word ދަށު **deñ** ‘then’.

(13.76) ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި

maumūnu vetṭeñ deñ faisā-ge_ehī din=eve
Maumoon fall.inf **then** money-GEN_help give.PST.3=END

‘**Until** Maumoon fell, [he] gave [the organization] financial assistance.’ (HD)

(13.77) ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި ދަށުގައި

mugābē 7 aharu_vañ deñ gānā-gai diri.uḷuvvi=eve
Mugabe 7 year_be.INF **then** Ghana-LOC live.HON.PST.3=END

‘Mugabe lived in Ghana **for** 7 years [lit. **until** 7 years happened].’ (HD)

13.4.3 Reason and cause clauses

A subordinate participial clause marked with ti indicates a reason.

- (13.78) $\text{qavā'id-aku-n} \quad \text{lāzim kurā=ti} \quad \text{komme}$
 rule-UNSP-ABL essential_do.PRS.PTCP=**RSN** each
 $\text{dōññ-ek-gai} \quad \text{seṭ-ek} \quad \text{hurum} \quad \text{majubūr=eve}$
 fishing.boat-INDF-LOC set-INDF be(.standing).VN compulsory=END
 ‘**Because** a rule requires it, each fishing boat must have a set [of walkie-talkies].’ (HD)

While ti is not a full-fledged lexical word, it acts like a noun in being able to take the co-ordinating particle ai ‘and’.

- (13.79) $\text{risōṭ} \quad \text{mīhu-n} \quad \text{haḷutālu} \quad \text{kuranī}$
 resort person-PL strike do.PRS.FOC
 $\text{tafātu kurā=ti=ai} \quad \text{ḥaqqu}$
 difference_do.PRS.PTCP=**RSN=CONJ** right
 nu=libē=ti=eve
 NEG=receive.PRS.PTCP=**RSN=END**
 ‘The resort workers are striking **because** they are treated differently **and because** they don’t have rights.’ (HD)

Reasons are also often presented by means of the ablative/instrumental form of sababu ‘reason’, with a genitive noun phrase object. The genitive phrase may be a verbal noun phrase, as in 13.80.

- (13.80) $\text{dōni} \quad \text{far-aṣ} \quad \text{erumu-ge} \quad \text{sababu-n} \quad \text{dōni vani}$
 dhoani reef-DAT arise.VN-GEN **reason-ABL** dhoani_be.PRS.FOC
 $\text{aḍi-aṣ} \quad \text{gos=fa=eve}$
 bottom-DAT go.CNV=SUC=END
 ‘**Because** the dhoani [traditional Maldivian boat] ran aground on the reef, the dhoani has gone down.’ (HD)

When a verbal noun phrase in the ablative/instrumental case is used adverbially in a sentence, it indicates that the action or state of the main verb somehow arises ‘from’ the action or state in the verbal noun phrase. The action or state described by

(13.83) *koṭarī-gai hunna fankā.gañḍu kuḍa_kam-unḥ*

room-LOC be(.standing).PRS.PTCP fan small_action-ABL

naganī hūn=eve

take.PRS.FOC hot=END

‘**Because** the fan in the room is small, [it] gets hot.’ (HD)

13.4.4 Manner clauses

Clausal adverbials of manner are also added with participial clauses. Markers of manner include *heñ* ‘as’, *fadañ* ‘as [lit. with the manner]’. The particle *heñ* ‘as’ is virtually always spelled as a suffix, but *fadañ* may be written either as a suffix or as a separate word.

(13.84) *sivil sārvis-ge muazzafu-ñ madu_kurā=heñ, siyāsī*
vazīfā-takḥ madu_koṣḥ siyāsī mīhuñ=ves
job-PL few_do.CNV political people=also

madu_kurāñ_jehe=eve
 few_do.INF_be.struck.PRS.PTCP=END

madu_kurāñ_jehe=eve
 few_do.INF_be.struck.PRS.PTCP=END

madu_kurāñ_jehe=eve
 few_do.INF_be.struck.PRS.PTCP=END

‘Just **as** civil service employees are decreasing, political jobs are decreasing, and politicians should also decrease.’ (HD)

(13.85) *ekamaku, kuriñ=ves bunevi_diya_fadañ iyye-āi*

but before=EMPH be.said.CNV_go.PST.PTCP **as** yesterday-SOC

miadu=ves tafātu_vāne=eve
 today=EMPH different_be.FUT.3=END

‘But **as** has also been said before, today will be different from yesterday.’ (HD)

13.5 Exceptions

Exceptions that operate at the clausal level—in which a sentence is true ‘except for’ or ‘other than’ the stated exception—are marked with *menuvī* ‘except’. The exceptions may take a number of syntactic forms, including noun phrases in various cases, as well as converb clauses marked with a successive particle. As mentioned in Section 10.5.2, exclusions within a noun phrase (such as ‘islands other than Malé’) are marked with *fiyavai* ‘except, besides’.

(13.86) *ḡe-ge matī-bai menuvī fennā-kaṣ net=eve*

DEM3-GEN upper_part **except** see.INF-NEGC NEG=END

‘There was nothing to be seen **except** its top part.’ (HD)

(13.87) *rājjē-ge varaṣ-madu raṣ-ek-gai menuvī ḡisalinēshaṇ*

country-GEN very_few island-INDF-LOC **except** desalination

feṇ libē-kaṣ nu=hure=eve
water receive.INF-NEGC NEG=be(.standing).PRS.3=END

‘**Other than** on a very few islands of the country, there is no desalinated water to be had.’ (HD)

(13.88) *adi irānu-ṇ kurā-kam-ek-ge macc-aṣ menuvī*
[.]

also Iran-PL do.PRS.PTCP_action-INDF-GEN top-DAT **except**

evves-kam-ek kaṇḡa.n.ēlēne-kamaṣ ēnā
any_action-INDF NEG.decide.FUT.PTCP_COMP 3

vidālu.vi=eve
say.HON.PST.3=END

‘And he said that nothing will be decided **except** about what Iran is doing.’ (HD)

(13.89) *adi irān-aš hiṭ.dati karuna-tak dī=gen_menuvī irān*
bali_nu=kurevēne_kamaš isrāīlu-ñ bune=eve
 weak_NEG=be.done.FUT.PTCP_COMP Israel-PL say.PRS.3=END

adi irān-aš hiṭ.dati karuna-tak dī=gen_menuvī irān
 also Iran-DAT heart.break tear-PL give.CNV=SUCC_**except Iran
bali_nu=kurevēne_kamaš isrāīlu-ñ bune=eve
 weak_NEG=be.done.FUT.PTCP_COMP Israel-PL say.PRS.3=END
 ‘And the Israelis say that Iran will not be defeated **except** by giving Iran
 heart-breaking tears.’ (HD)

The equivalent of English *unless* or *except if* may be expressed with a conditional clause combined with *menuvī* ‘except’.

(13.90) *ahareñ-ge_atu-ñ din-īyā menuvī bat-ek*
 1-GEN_hand-ABL give.PST.PTCP-COND except food-INDF

ahareñ-ge_atu-ñ din-īyā menuvī bat-ek
 1-GEN_hand-ABL give.PST.PTCP-COND except food-INDF
nu=kāne=eve
 NEG=eat.FUT.3=END

‘[It] won’t eat **unless** [I] feed [it] from my hand.’ (FD)

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A Verb Paradigms

This appendix presents some paradigms of representative verbs that are given piecemeal in Chapter 8.¹ When a more literary form and a more colloquial form coexist, the literary form is given second. However, for brevity the tables leave out the literary forms of the first-person plural and the second person, which end in **-mu** rather than **-m̐**. Explicit reference to second persons is also left out of the tables. For a discussion of the second person, see Section 8.3.

A.1 Regular Verbs

Table A.1 shows a selection of regular verbs. **ḥadani** ‘makes’ is a regular a-stem verb. **feṣeni** ‘is begun’ is a regular e-stem IN-verb. **kuḷeni** ‘plays’ is one of the rare active verbs that has an e-stem, but its inflection is regular for such verbs.

Table A.1: Regular verbs

			Regular a-stem	Active e-stem	IN e-stem
Citation Form			ḥadani ‘makes’	kuḷeni ‘plays’	feṣeni ‘is begun’
Finite Indicative	Present	1st person	ḥadaṁ	kuḷeṁ	—
		3rd person	ḥadā	kuḷē	feṣē
	Future	1st person	ḥadānaṁ	kuḷēnaṁ	—
		3rd person	ḥadāne	kuḷēne	feṣēne
	Past	1st person	ḥediṁ	kuḷuniṁ	

¹ I am indebted to Cain and Gair (2000) for the basic imperative and the first person irrealis forms of **kuḷeni** ‘plays’.

Table A.1: (continued)

		Regular a-stem	Active e-stem	IN e-stem
		~ هَدِيمٌ hedīm	~ كُلُونِيْمٌ kuḷunīm	---
		3rd person هَدِي hedi	كُلُونُ kuḷunu	فَعْسُونُ feṣunu
Participles	Present	هَادٍ hadā	كُلٌّ kuḷē	فَعْسٌ feṣē
	Future	هَادَانِي hadāne	كُلُّنِي kuḷēne	فَعْسَانِي feṣēne
		~ هَادَانِي hadānē	~ كُلُّنِي kuḷēnē	~ فَعْسَانِي feṣēnē
	Past	هَدِي hedi	كُلُونُ kuḷunu	فَعْسُونُ feṣunu
Progressives	Present	هَادَانِي hadānī	كُلُّنِي kuḷenī	فَعْسَانِي feṣenī
	Future	هَادَانِي hadānī	كُلُّنِي kuḷēnī	فَعْسَانِي feṣēnī
	Past	هَدِي hedi	كُلُونِي kuḷunī	فَعْسُونِي feṣunī
Imperatives	Basic	هَادِ hadā	كُلْ kuḷē	---
	-ti	هَادَاتِي hadāti	كُلِّتِي kuḷēti	---
	-ccē	هَادِاَئِي hadaccē	كُلِّعَايِي kuḷeccē	---

Table A.1: (continued)

		Regular a-stem	Active e-stem	IN e-stem
Hortative		هَدَامَا hadamā	كُؤَمَا kuḷemā	—
Converb		هَدَايْ hadai	كُؤَ kuḷe	فَشِي feṣi
Perfect	1st person	هَدَايْفِيْمُ hadaifim	كُؤَفِيْمُ kuḷefim	—
		~ هَدَايْفِيْمُ hadaifim	~ كُؤَفِيْمُ kuḷefim	
	3rd person	هَدَايْفِي hadaifi	كُؤَفِي kuḷefi	فَشِيْجِي feṣijje
Potential	1st person	هَدَاْفَانَاْمُ hadāfānam	كُؤَفَانَاْمُ kuḷefānam	—
	3rd person	هَدَاْفَانَا hadāfāne	كُؤَفَانَا kuḷefāne	فَشِيْدَانَا feṣidāne
Irrealis	1st person	هَدِيْمُسُ hedimus	كُؤُنِيْمُسُ kuḷunimus	—
	3rd person	هَدِيْسُ hedis	كُؤُنِيْسُ kuḷunis	فَشُونِيْسُ feṣunis
Prospective Irrealis		نَهَادَانِيْسُ nahadanis	نُكُؤَلْنِيْسُ nukuḷenis	نُفَشَنْيْسُ nufešenis
		~ نُهَادَانِيْسُ nuhadanis		
Successive	-fai	هَدَاْفَايْ hadā-fai	كُؤَفَايْ kuḷefai	فَشِيْفَايْ feṣi-fai

Table A.1: (continued)

	Regular a-stem	Active e-stem	IN e-stem
-geñ	هَدَايَ گەڤ hadai-geñ	کۆلە گەڤ kuļegen	فەشە گەڤ feşî-geñ
Temporal	هەدی ما hedî-ma	کۆلونی ما kuļuni-ma	فەشونی ما feşuni-ma
	~	~	~
	هەدی مە hedî-mā	کۆلونی مە kuļuni-mā	فەشونی مە feşuni-mā
Simultaneous	-muñ	هەدا مۆڤ hada-muñ	فەشە مۆڤ feşe-muñ
	-koş	هەدانی کۆش hadani-koş	فەشەنی کۆش feşeni-koş
Infinitive	هەدان hadañ	کۆلەڤ kuļeñ	فەشەڤ feşeñ
Verbal noun	هەدوم hedum	کۆلوم kuļum	فەشوم feşum
Honorific	هەدەڤانی haddavani	کۆلەڤەڤانی kuļuvvani	فەشەڤەڤەڤانی feţţeveni

A.2 Irregular verbs

The following tables contain some of the common irregular verbs. Of the verbs in Table A.2, **kurani** ‘does’ and **vani** ‘is, becomes’ are extremely common and are used as verbalizers with nouns and adjectives to create compound verbs. Note that when **vani** ‘is, becomes’ is used as an IN-verb it does not use person marking, but in other uses it does. Verbs with geminate /nn/ in their stems are all irregular to some extent; the verb **annani** ‘comes’ is one example. The verbs in Table A.3 are the postural/locational verbs that are also used in existential clauses.

Table A.2: Some irregular verbs












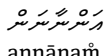



















			Irregular a-stem	Irregular monosyl- labic	Irregular n-stem
Citation Form			 kurani ‘does’	 vani ‘is, becomes’	 annani ‘comes’
Finite Indicative	Present	1st person	 kuram̐	 vam̐	 annam̐
		3rd person	 kurē	 vē	 ādē
	Future	1st person	 kurānam̐	 vānam̐	 annānam̐
		3rd person	 kurāne	 vāne	 annāne
	Past	1st person	 kurim̐	 vim̐	 aim̐
			~	~	~
			 kurīm̐	 vīm̐	 aīm̐
		3rd person	 kuri	 vi ~  vī	 ai
Participles	Present		 kurā ‘doing’	 vā	 anna ‘coming’
	Future		 kurāne	 vāne	 annāne

Table A.2: (continued)

		Irregular a-stem	Irregular monosyl- labic	Irregular n-stem
		~ کُرَانِه kurānē	~ وَانِه vānē	~ اَنَنِه annānē
Past		کُرِ kuri	وِ vi	اِ ai
			~ وِ vī	
Progressives	Present	کُرَانِي kurānī	وَانِي vānī	اَنَنِي annānī
	Future	کُرَانِي kurānī	وَانِي vānī	اَنَنِي annānī
	Past	کُرِي kurī	وِي vī	اِي aī
Imperatives	Basic	کُرِه kurē	وِه vē	اَدِه ādē
	-ti	کُرَاتِي kurāti	وَاتِي vāti	اَنَاتِي annāti
	-ccē	کُرَاصَّه kuraccē	وَاصَّه vaccē	اَنَاصَّه annaccē
Hortative		کُرَامَا kuramā	وَامَا vamā	اَنَامَا annamā
Converb		کَوَشْ koṣ	وِه ve	اِيسْ ais
Perfect	1st person	کَوَشْچِيْم koṣfiṃ	وَجْچِيْم vejjaifiṃ	اِيسْچِيْم aisfiṃ

Table A.2: (continued)

		Irregular a-stem	Irregular monosyl- labic	Irregular n-stem
		~ کوشفم koşfīm	~ vejjaīm	~ ايسفم aisfīm
3rd person		کوشف koşfi	vejje	ايسف aisfi
				~ ايسي aissi
Potential	1st person	کوشفانم koşfānaṁ	—	ايسفانم aisfānaṁ
	3rd person	کوشفانه koşfāne	vedāne	ايسفانه aisfāne
Irrealis	1st person	کوريم kurīmus	ویم vīmus	ايم aimus
				~ ايم aimus
	3rd person	کوري kurīṣ	وي vīs	اي aīs
Prospective Irrealis		نکورانيس nukuranīs	نوانيس nuvanīs	ننانونيس nānnanīs
Successive	-fai	کوشف-فای koş-fai	vejje-fai	ايسف-فای ais-fai
				~ ايس-سای ais-sa

Table A.2: (continued)

		Irregular a-stem	Irregular monosyl- labic	Irregular n-stem
	-geṇ	كوڭ گهڻ koṣ-geṇ	وڃي گهڻ ve-geṇ	اچي سگهي گهڻ ais-geṇ
Temporal	-mā	ڪوري ما kurī-mā	ڏي ما vī-mā	اچي ما ai-mā
Simultaneous	-muṇ	ڪوري مڻ kura-muṇ	وڃي مڻ va-muṇ	اچي سگهي مڻ anna-muṇ
	-koṣ	ڪوري ڪوڙ kurani-koṣ	وڃي ڪوڙ vani-koṣ	اچي سگهي ڪوڙ annani-koṣ
Infinitive		ڪوري kuraṇ	وڃي vāṇ	اچي سگهي annaṇ
		~ ڪوري kurāṇ		~ اچي سگهي annāṇ
Verbal noun		ڪوري kurum	وڃي vum	اچي سگهي aum
Honorific	Mid-level		وڃي ڏي ve-lavvani	اچي سگهي ڏي duruvani 'comes/goes (hon)'
	High	ڪوري ڪوري kuravvani	وڃي ڪوري ڪوري ve-vaḍai- gannavani	اچي سگهي ڪوري ڪوري vaḍai- gannavani ~ 'comes/goes (hhon)'
	Divine		وڃي ڪوري ڪوري voḍigen- vani	

Table A.3: Postural/locational verbs










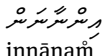
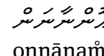
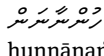

















			Irregular locational	Irregular locational	Irregular locational
Citation Form			 innani ‘is sitting, marries’	 onnani ‘is lying’	 hunnani ‘is standing, waits’
Finite Indicative	Present	1st person	 innam	 onnam	 hunnam
		3rd person	 indē	 ovē	 hurē
	Future	1st person	 innānam	 onnānam	 hunnānam
		3rd person	 innāne	 onnāne	 hunnāne
	Past	1st person	 inim	 otim	 huriim
			~	~	~
			 inim	 otim	 huriim
					~
					 huṣim
		3rd person	 in	 ot	 huri
					~
					 huṣi
Participles	Present		 inna	 onna	 hunna

Table A.3: (continued)

		Irregular locational	Irregular locational	Irregular locational
	Future	innāne	onnāne	hunnāne
		innānē	onnānē	hunnānē
	Past	in̄	ot̄	huri
Progressives	Present	innanī	onnanī	hunnanī
	Future	innānī	onnānī	hunnānī
	Past	inī	oti	hurī
Imperatives	-ti	innāti	onnāti	hunnāti
	-ccē	innaccē	onnaccē	hunnaccē
Converb		iñde	ove	hure
Perfect	1st person	iñdejjaim̄	ovejjaim̄	hurejjaim̄
		iñdefim̄	ovefim̄	hurefim̄
	3rd person	iñdeje	ovejje	hurejje

Table A.3: (continued)

		Irregular locational	Irregular locational	Irregular locational
		indefi		hurefi
Potential	1st person	indefānaṁ	ovefānaṁ	hurefānaṁ
	3rd person	indedāne	ovedāne	huredāne
		~	~	~
		indefāne	ovefāne	hurefāne
Irrealis	1st person	inimus		hurimus
	3rd person	inīs	otīs	hurīs
Successive	-fai	inḏe-fai	ove-fai	hure-fai
	-geṇ	inḏe-geṇ	ove-geṇ	hure-geṇ
Temporal		inī-mā	otī-mā	hurī-mā
Simultaneous	-muṇ	inna-muṇ	onna-muṇ	hunna-muṇ
	-koṣ	innani-koṣ	onnani-koṣ	hunnani-koṣ
	locational	indā	ovvā	huṭṭā

Table A.3: (continued)

	Irregular locational	Irregular locational	Irregular locational
Infinitive	ḥinnāḥ	ḥonnaḥ	ḥunnaḥ
	~	~	~
	ḥinnāḥ	ḥonnaḥ	ḥunnaḥ
Verbal noun	inūm	otūm	hurūm
Honorific	ḥinnavānī 'is sitting (hon)'	ḥonnavānī 'is lying (hon)'	ḥunnavānī 'is standing (hon)'

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